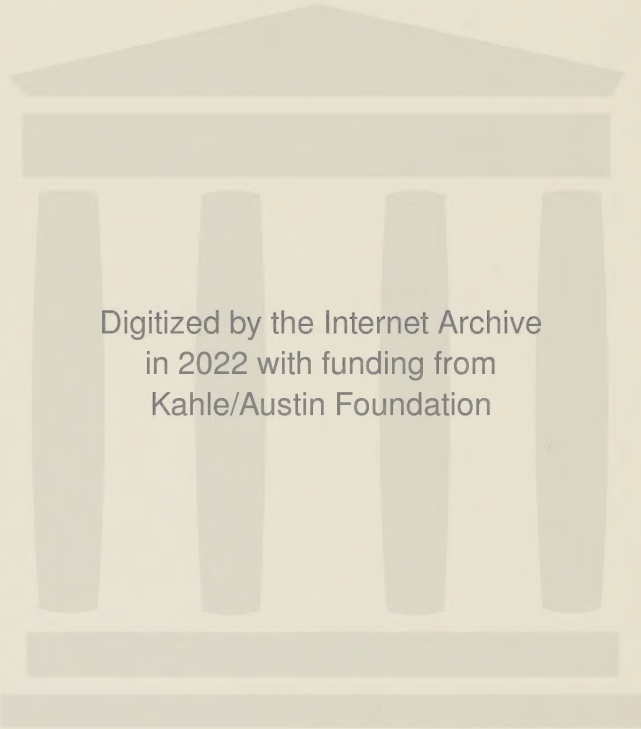


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THE BROAD STONE OF EMPIRE

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THE BROAD STONE OF EMPIRE

PROBLEMS OF
CROWN COLONY ADMINISTRATION

WITH RECORDS OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

BY
SIR CHARLES BRUCE
II

VOL. II

It is broad in respect to its principles and its law, "*latum mandatum tuum nimis*"; broad in acknowledging distinctly and broadly the eternal truths of religion, that all men are equal before God.

The Broad Stone of Honour.

By KENELM HENRY DIGBY.

WITH MAPS



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CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION

I

THE Board of Education in its *Special Reports on Educational Subjects* has published detailed accounts of the educational systems of the Crown colonies,¹ but I am not aware that any attempt has been made to lay down a scheme of principles generally applicable to all. If I venture to undertake so ambitious a task, I will only plead that my experience is exceptional, extending over a period of more than five and thirty years, and including the organisation of educational systems in Mauritius, Ceylon, British Guiana, and the Windward Islands. And I undertake the task the more readily because the reports published by the Board seem calculated to confirm a statement that has been made, that the "Crown colonies have been left to tumble into any system which circumstances suggested." That is far from being the case. Of course, in education as in every other area of political activity, it is necessary to distinguish between the excellence of a principle and the time and method of its application, but unity of

¹ *Board of Education Special Reports*, vols. 4, 5, 12, 13, 14.

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end and uniformity of principle are not necessarily inconsistent with variety of means. I propose then to state briefly the principles that have guided me, and to illustrate their application in the educational systems of Mauritius and Ceylon to which many other colonies have conformed.

Underlying all other considerations has been the cardinal principle of Queen Victoria's proclamation to the people of India in 1858, that her subjects—of whatever race or creed—shall be freely and impartially admitted to offices in her service which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity to discharge.

As education is the only agency by which practical effect can be given to such a policy, it seems to follow that its acceptance renders the organisation of Public Instruction in the Crown colonies the highest trust and function of the State. I have in an earlier chapter called attention to Cobden's declaration that education is "the sole title to constitutional franchise, the sole guardian of political liberty, the sole qualification for self-government," and have noted that one of the earliest consequences of the Reform Act of 1832 was a parliamentary vote of £20,000 as a grant in aid of popular education. It may be taken as a measure of the national faith in Cobden's gospel that the modest grant of £20,000 in 1834 has developed into a vote of over £14,000,000 for the Board of Education for the service of the current year. The period has seen two great empires established on the basis of education, in Europe the Empire of Germany, in Asia the Empire of Japan. Remarkable, if uncon-

scious, testimony to the truth of Cobden's declaration of faith was borne by Mr. Abe Bailey, a leading member of the Legislative Assembly of the Transvaal in 1909. At a meeting held at Johannesburg to celebrate May 24th as Empire Day, he is reported to have said: "The ideal of making South Africa a white man's country could only be accomplished by a general displacement of the natives through a large employment of whites. The whites must rule, but if the natives were educated and enfranchised, that would mean the replacement of the whites by natives."

If we are to be guided by reason, history, and the signs of our times, we must come to the conclusion that there can in the long run be no permanent divorce between the masses that produce and the class that is to administer the revenue of a country. And if this proposition is accepted, I submit as a corollary, that it is the duty of the State to establish in every Crown colony an educational system adequate to qualify the community, without distinction of creed or race, for a full share of work in the development of the productive powers of the soil, in the application of science to industrial processes, in the distribution of the colony's produce as well as of commodities imported from abroad out of the proceeds of colonial industry; and, above all, to qualify them for office in departments that require special technical training, such as the departments of Public Health, Agriculture and Forestry, and Public Works, no less than for offices in the administrative and judicial departments of the civil government.

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In the organisation of any educational system the question of appropriate and adequate agencies is of the first concern. The potential agencies may be classed as two,—the State and private enterprise; and the thing to be achieved being the application of public funds contributed for the public benefit, in such a manner as to reach the largest possible section of the community, the problem to be solved is how to enlist in the service, in addition to those who are under immediate engagement to the State, all who are willing to co-operate for a known object, on a definite plan, without waste of strength or resources; how, in short, to induce private enterprise to act as an auxiliary of the State rather than as an obstacle in the way of Government. The co-ordination of these agencies in such a way as to make public instruction a popular institution working freely under the positive control of an organised administration is the educational problem of the day in the United Kingdom, and certainly of no less importance in the Crown colonies.

Many years ago Mr. Mill, in discussing the question, declared: "In education the question of controlled or free agency is not quite fairly stated in the disjunctive programme, 'Endowment *or* Free-trade.' 'Endowment *and* Free-trade' is the thing contended for; that there should be free competition in education, that law or the State should fix what knowledge should be required, but not from whom it should be procured is essential to civil and political freedom."

Generally speaking in the Crown colonies, the Christian Churches have been the first and remain

the principal agencies of free enterprise in education. Some years ago my experience as Director of Public Instruction in Ceylon enabled me to declare that, during my tenure of the office, there existed between my department and the Christian Churches a spirit of mutual confidence and encouragement, and a mutual recognition of labours accomplished for the good of the people whose welfare was our common care. I need not doubt that in other colonies the Government and the Christian agencies are and will be associated in the same spirit. I am certain that it is the only spirit in which the State and free enterprise can successfully co-operate in the Imperial duty of educating and elevating the communities of Crown colonies.

MAURITIUS

I may now consider the application of these general principles in the educational system of the Crown colony of Mauritius. The racial distribution of the population of European, African, and Asiatic origin has been discussed in an earlier chapter. The last religious census showed approximately 120,000 Christians, 210,000 Hindus, and 40,000 Mahommedans. Of the Christians, over 113,000 professed the Roman Catholic religion.

Perhaps in no territory of equal area in the Empire are differences of race and religion complicated by a greater diversity of tongues. While English and French are, with some reservations in favour of English, officially recognised, the use of the French language predominates in society and in the press. The Indian community has introduced

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a confused variety of languages, chiefly dialects of Hindu, Tamil, and Telugu. But the language which serves as a practically universal means of communication between the heterogeneous groups of the community is a dialect mainly of French elements, known as the *Patois Créole*.

The evolution of the educational system of Mauritius has been a process of slow but continuous growth, controlled for the last forty years, at least, by the principles I have indicated. In 1899 the system was revised, and the laws and regulations affecting it were codified by an enactment which co-ordinated education through the agency of a department under a responsible officer, styled the Director of Education, assisted by two committees denominated the Committees of Superior and Primary Instruction. The powers entrusted to the department are administered in accordance with regulations grouped as codes. The codes, collectively known as the Code, include all that is necessary to form a complete system of education, reaching from the elementary schools to the highest range of the colony's educational capacity, and linked to the universities and colleges of professional and technical training in the United Kingdom.

The system is composed of a number of agencies which may be considered as members of one family, bound together by common ties that could not be ruptured in the case of one member without a general shock to the others. I can best describe it, perhaps, as a system designed on the natural

principle of the solar system with a number of bodies moving under the influence of a central force. The sun or central force of the system is an institution styled the Royal College, equipped with a staff of professors and teachers of classics, mathematics, natural sciences, and modern languages. The course and range of study is controlled, or rather modified, by the Cambridge Local Examinations, and by the examinations of the University of London. Scholarships and exhibitions, with free tuition at the College, are awarded on the results of these examinations, and are open to the whole colony. But what may be called the practical connection of the Royal College with the highest range of the civic life of the community is to be found in two scholarships awarded annually to its students. These scholarships of £200 a year are tenable for four years, at one of the Universities of the United Kingdom or elsewhere, on such conditions as may be approved by the Secretary of State to enable the scholars to qualify for the professions of law or medicine, or to pursue their studies for purposes of special training in agriculture or industry in the United Kingdom or elsewhere. One of these scholarships is awarded to students of the classical side, the other to students of the modern side, and the examiners are appointed by the University of Cambridge. Candidates on the classical side must have passed the London Matriculation Examination, and candidates on the modern side, the Senior Cambridge Local Examination in certain specified subjects. The influence of these scholarships is not limited to the successful candidates; it may

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be said to penetrate and permeate the whole civic life of the colony.

The higher ranks of the Civil Service, including the Departments of Public Works, Railways, Agriculture and Forestry, the Bench, the Bar, and the Medical Profession, are occupied almost exclusively by men who have studied at the Royal College; and if the Secretary of State reserves his right to appoint to high office in Mauritius civil servants from other parts of the Empire, he has made compensation by appointing Mauritians to high office in other colonies.

Attached to the Royal College, as satellites, are two schools under the direct control of the Rector of the College. The course of instruction in these schools provides a continuous line of progress from the earliest rudiments to the standard of admission to the Royal College, and so to the highest prizes of colonial life. The schools, like the College, have two sides. The study of English and French is common to both sides; the modern side includes mathematics, modern and contemporary history, chemistry, with special reference to commerce and manufactures, book-keeping, drawing, and Hindustanee.

The questions of creed and colour, which are at this moment agitating the Empire from North-western Canada to South-eastern Australia, have been so far solved in the administration of the Royal College as to present no serious difficulty, and give rise to no discussion. Religious instruction forms a special branch of study, and is conducted by ministers of the Christian churches appointed to the

duty, in conformity with the rules that regulate secular instruction, but no student is required to attend classes of religious instruction if his parents or guardians object. The Education law recognises no distinction of colour.

But if a *modus vivendi* has been formed within the limited area of the Royal College, creed and race and the gradations of social rank have to be taken into account all over the world, and in dealing with the questions to which they give rise, free enterprise can claim the advantage of superior elasticity. In the matter of creed, for instance, an immense majority of the Christian community in Mauritius are Roman Catholics, and they desire schools with a Catholic master (a practical, good-living Catholic), Catholic books for subjects that touch religion, and a Catholic atmosphere. Creed and race and social position suggest in every community similar aspirations. These considerations have led to the establishment in Mauritius of a group of secondary schools in which Government seeks to exercise an adequate influence over the course of secondary instruction, while leaving different sections of the community to deal with many delicate questions in their own way. These are called Associated schools, and form a not unimportant group in the planetary system of colonial education. They submit their students to an annual examination on the work of the corresponding classes in the College schools. The examiners are appointed by the Rector of the Royal College with the approval of the Committee of Superior Instruction, and a grant-in-aid is

distributed in accordance with a scheme regulated by code. The schools are further encouraged by scholarships and exhibitions, with free tuition at the Royal College, awarded at each examination. In addition to the considerations which have been indicated, these schools have found an area of activity offered by changes in the distribution of the population. From causes that have been fully discussed, the town of Port Louis, where the Royal College and its schools were originally established, has become one of the least healthy districts of the colony; while the railways have facilitated migration into elevated and healthier regions, where new centres of population have sprung up. It was anticipated, when the scheme was started, that it might secure uniformity of method and an equal standard of instruction in schools likely to be opened in the new settlements. Time justified this prevision, with the result that in 1906, twenty-five schools were associated in the system. From the reports of the Department it appears that the Associated schools, both as regards the number of classes and the percentage of marks, compare favourably with the College schools.

The considerations which prompted the scheme of Associated schools for boys apply, with at least equal force, to the education of girls, and about twenty years ago an analogous scheme was started for the higher education of the latter. The course of study and standards of examination under this scheme are laid down by the Committee of Superior Instruction. They include music, drawing, and needlework. A grant-in-aid, based on results, is paid to

the managers of schools coming under the scheme, and prizes are awarded to the girls who stand highest in the several standards. In 1906 twenty-two schools were working in connection with this system, and presented candidates at the Junior and Senior Cambridge Local Examinations.

Superior instruction in the Crown colonies, in its practical connection with professional employment, is necessarily affected by the fact that admission to the highest ranks of the learned professions can only be gained by residence in Europe. It becomes therefore the duty of colonial Governments to provide for that large section of the community which must find some other avenue to profitable and honourable employment. Accordingly, the Education Ordinance, 1899, assigned to the Committee of Superior Instruction the duty of including in the codes a system of instruction in technical, agricultural, and commercial education, and several schemes have been put into operation.

For the training of mechanical engineers in the theory and practice of their work, scholarships are annually awarded in connection with the Government railway workshops. The scholars are apprenticed for six years, during which they get a progressive rate of wages and receive theoretical instruction in subjects connected with their work. Civil Engineering scholarships are also awarded annually in connection with the Department of the Surveyor-General.

For agricultural education a similar scheme provides for the apprenticeship of candidates, selected by competitive examination, to the Botanical

Gardens. The apprentices receive wages and free quarters, and are instructed in the principles of Agriculture, Botany, and Forestry.

Since 1905 arrangements have been made by the Committee for holding the examinations of the Commercial Education Department of the London Chamber of Commerce in the colony.

I now pass on to consider the agencies of primary instruction in Mauritius, and to show how they are influenced by the central force of the system of public instruction.

The principles indicated as underlying the system of superior instruction have been applied to primary instruction. Primary instruction is carried on by two classes of schools,—Government schools, established and maintained entirely from public funds, and grant-in-aid schools, mainly supported by public funds. In all primary schools instruction is free, but not compulsory. Compulsory education requires an adequate staff of efficient teachers, and there are very few Crown colonies in which such an equipment exists. A statutory declaration that education is compulsory without such an equipment is of no advantage. In Government schools the teachers are Government servants subject generally to the ordinary rules of the Civil Service of the colony. They are paid partly by fixed salary, according to the class of their certificate of competency, and partly by a result grant. They have a free residence, or allowance in lieu. The school buildings, apparatus, and all other expenses are provided out of public funds.

In grant-in-aid schools the teachers are appointed by the Managers, but are paid out of public funds on exactly the same scale and conditions as the teachers of Government schools, except as regards residence. The school buildings and apparatus, which must satisfy the requirements of the code, and other expenses are provided by the Managers, who receive, however, a contribution in aid equivalent to one-fourth of the rental valuation of the school premises and the head teachers' quarters.

The primary schools,—Government and grant-in-aid—are open to all children without distinction of religion or race; and the law ensures that no child shall receive any religious instruction to which his parents or guardians may object, or shall be present while such instruction is given to other children. On the other hand, the law provides that facilities “shall be given to all ministers of a Christian religion who may desire to afford religious instruction to children of their own persuasion, being pupils in the school, either in the school-house or elsewhere.”

In Government schools one hour on a fixed day in the week may be set apart for the purposes of religious instruction, either in the school or in any church or chapel situated within a reasonable distance; on other days the first half-hour of the morning may be devoted to the preparation of lessons set by the clergy of the various Churches. In grant-in-aid schools, the managers make their own arrangements, subject to the provisions of the law.

In schools of either class any language most suitable for the pupils may be used as the medium of instruction in the lower classes, English and French being taught from the beginning. From the fourth standard English is used as the general medium of instruction and conversation. For the benefit of Indian children engaged in manual labour, half-time schools have been established in which an Indian dialect is substituted for English or French. The teachers in these schools, whether Government or grant-in-aid, are paid by result grants on the same scale.

The following figures, taken from the Blue Book for 1908, show the actual working of schools under the system I have described, and bear testimony to the spirit in which they are conducted.

The Government schools were attended by 5,191 Roman Catholics, 329 Christians of other denominations, 905 Mahommedans, and 2,090 Hindus and others.

The Roman Catholic schools were attended by 6,400 Roman Catholic pupils, 60 Christians of other denominations, 447 Mahommedans, 1,123 Hindus and others.

The Protestant schools were attended by 534 Roman Catholics, 308 Christians of other denominations, 384 Mahommedans, 1,104 Hindus and others.

The grant-in-aid system is not limited to the agency of the Christian Churches; but the Indian community, consisting mainly of immigrants introduced to supply labour for the elementary operations of industry, is not generally qualified to take any

intelligent part in school management. The few qualified members of the community are generally content, and, indeed, prefer to leave themselves in the hands of Government. There is only one Mahommedan grant-in-aid school, and it shows a remarkable record. It was attended in 1908 by 11 Roman Catholics, 7 Protestants, 86 Mahommedans, 38 Hindus and others.

In order to secure a practical connection between the primary schools and industrial employment, provision is made in the Code to establish at both Government and grant-in-aid schools classes for manual training. Such classes may be established in connection with one or with a group of schools. The early stages of training in these classes are limited to elementary principles and the manipulation of tools. For instance, in carpentry the pupils learn to saw and plane to a line, and to make simple joints; in tinsmith's work, to prepare soldering tools and materials, and to make solder-joints, and so on. When some progress has been made they begin to make useful articles of a simple character.

As a link between primary and secondary education, twelve scholarships and exhibitions are awarded annually to boys of the Government and grant-in-aid schools. They entitle their holders to free tuition at the College schools and Royal College until they attain the age of twenty years. Similarly, to the girls of the Government and grant-in-aid schools four scholarships are awarded annually. These scholarships are tenable at any of the schools connected with the scheme for the higher education of girls. They include monthly payments to the

Manager of the school at which the scholar studies, and monthly payments to the parent or guardian of the scholar on her behalf.

Such is a brief account of the system of education in Mauritius based on principles which I believe to be generally applicable to the Crown colonies. Its main object is to secure a practical connection between education and employment in every gradation of social life. And there are probably few administrative units of the Empire that offer to the children of the community, without distinction of creed or colour, a higher class of education on more generous terms. A clever boy of European, African, or Asiatic descent can receive a first-rate public-school education, proceed to a university of the United Kingdom, equip himself for any profession, and rise to any position of trust and emolument in the colony without costing his father a rupee.

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION

II

CEYLON

IN 1878 I received the appointment of Director of Public Instruction in Ceylon, and entered on the duties of my office early in the year 1879. The task I set myself to accomplish was to adapt the broad principles I have enunciated to the exigencies of a colony which bears much the same relation to India and the Far East that the United Kingdom does to the Continent of Europe. The consequences of its geographical position show themselves clearly in the population of the colony, which is now estimated at nearly 4,000,000, and includes over seventy races and nationalities. Of these, not more than 6,500, exclusive of the military and shipping, are Europeans. The chief constituent elements of the population placed in historical sequence are approximately :

Veddas	-	-	"	-	-	-	4,000
Sinhalese	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,500,000
Tamils	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,100,000
Moormen	-	-	-	-	-	-	250,000
Eurasians	-	-	-	-	-	-	24,500
Europeans	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,500
II					B		

Veddas. Of the origin and sociology of the Veddas but little is known. Professor Virchow, who some twenty years ago wrote a valuable paper on the subject, expressed a hope that before the utter extinction of this primitive race, their language and customs, their physical and mental constitution, might be firmly established. A scientific investigation of their origin and history has recently been undertaken.

Sinhalese. The Sinhalese community may be said perhaps to be the most compact and self-contained in the world. They occupy only a limited area confined to the Western and South-Western lowlands, and a part of the central highlands of Ceylon; and yet they have not only a language and literature of their own, but an alphabet peculiarly their own. The Sinhalese occupation was the result of an Aryan invasion from Northern India in prehistoric times; and the process of centuries has evolved, even within this very limited area, characteristics that distinguish the dwellers in the plains from the dwellers in the highlands analogous to those that distinguish lowlanders from highlanders in Great Britain. Ceylon contains innumerable monuments of a great political and religious past, and is still a centre of modern Buddhism. In Kandy, in the Daladá Máligáwa, or Temple of the Sacred Tooth, and on Adam's Peak, it has shrines visited and venerated by every community of the Buddhist world.

Tamils. The Tamil population of Ceylon includes two groups. The peninsula of Jaffna and an adjoining area of northern and eastern territory are occupied by invaders or settlers of Dravidian origin, driven

out of the mainland of India by an Aryan invasion at a period nearly coincident with the earliest records of history. The economic pressure of a crowded population has made them the most frugal and industrious people in Ceylon. The other group of Tamils is of quite recent origin. They have immigrated, and are still immigrating as coolies to undertake the manual labour of clearing and cultivating the forest lands occupied by British enterprise. Though of Dravidian descent and language, the Tamils have long adopted the religion of Hinduism.

Moormen. The origin of the community called Moormen is obscure. They are a trading community of Mahommedans, probably of Arab origin, and represent the commercial agents of a period long prior to the earliest European enterprises in the Indian Ocean. Thus we find in Ceylon the main elements of the Asiatic population representing the three great religions of the East, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Moslem.

Eurasians. The Eurasians of Ceylon are chiefly of Dutch descent, and are generally known as Burghers. They include distinguished members of the legal and medical professions, and form a large body of the clerks in the principal Government Departments; but they take little part in the development of the material resources of the colony.

Europeans. As regards the British population, they exercise practically the same functions as in India; in the control of the administrative and legislative duties of Government, and in the control and supervision of industry and commerce.

In Ceylon, as in Mauritius, Government is based on the cardinal principle of the Proclamation of Queen Victoria to the people of India in 1858.

My earliest concern was to visit the educational centres of the colony, and the experience of my first tour of inspection convinced me that by making inquiries *in situ*, coming into contact with district officers, missionaries, and native officials, I could learn rapidly and with certainty many things that could not be gathered from official reports. It was an experience that modified, I hope with advantage, the conduct of my whole subsequent official career. I returned from my tour satisfied that my first aim must be not so much to extend education as to systematise it by carrying out, with a view to secure the best possible application of the funds available, many sound recommendations which had repeatedly been made by the educational authorities, but never yet put into practice. There existed no code of instructions for regulating the duties of inspectors, teachers, or any of the officials connected with the department; no geographical classification of schools, nor, indeed, any but a purely haphazard list of them; no classification of teachers according to seniority, qualifications, and merit; no codification of the various changes which had been introduced in the rules and regulations for aided schools. In fact, I found that I had to work in the dark, or in the perplexing light of arbitrary and often conflicting decisions. The first measure, consequently, submitted to Government was the organisation of the inspecting agency based upon a geographical

division of the island according to provinces ; the western and southern, the northern and eastern, and the central, north-central and north-western provinces being grouped into three districts under inspectors, assisted by a staff of sub-inspectors selected with special reference to their knowledge of the local vernaculars, local circumstances, and local partialities and prejudices. They were instructed to group the schools in their districts as soon as possible, in accordance with the *Korales*, *Pattuwas*, and other territorial subdivisions recognised in the census returns. This arrangement was necessary to facilitate a due relation between the extension of schools and the population. In a memorandum on the organisation of the inspecting staff the general duties were defined as follows :

“ The duties of an inspector of schools in Ceylon are much more comprehensive than those of an English inspector. He is the actual manager of all Government schools in his division. He must assure himself, for the information of the department, that the right proportion exists between the number of teachers and the number of pupils to be taught, that the available teaching power is disposed to the best advantage ; that there is a proper division of labour between teachers and pupil teachers ; that every subject is taught in the most approved methods, with the help of the best obtainable books and the most suitable apparatus ; and, above all, that the teachers are efficient in the work of instruction, and conscientious in the keeping of their records. It has hitherto been, and until other arrangements are made it will be, the duty of the inspectors to take

part in the examinations of the Academy, in local examinations, and the examination of teachers and monitors. Should schemes, which I shall shortly submit for the approval of Government, for the support of training and industrial establishments, be accepted, it will be the duty of the inspectors to watch their operation with peculiar care. In the proposed geographical division of the island for the purposes of inspection, it will be the duty of each divisional inspector to act as inspector of returns for the district under his immediate supervision. This will relieve the Director of a portion of the routine work which now presses heavily on the department.

“Each divisional inspector will be responsible for the annual examination for result payments of all Government and Grant-in-aid schools in his district, and for the arrangement of incidental visits as frequently and unexpectedly as possible. It will be his duty to report upon all applications for new schools, and to provide for the extension of education in neglected districts and against the needless multiplication of small and feeble schools.”

To this memorandum were annexed detailed instructions as to the methods in which the duties of the staff were to be carried out.

My experience has given me exceptional opportunity of appreciating, and I have never ceased to appreciate the disinterested and self-denying lessons of Christian missionaries engaged in educational enterprises; but in Ceylon as elsewhere the inspectors were met by formidable difficulties in the prosecution of their duties among the grant-in-aid schools. These difficulties arose chiefly from

two causes, the rivalry between the Christian Churches, and the tendency of all the Churches to resent the control of the Department of Public Instruction. The jealous rivalry of the Churches had led to an almost incredible over-multiplication of schools in certain populous areas. This was particularly the case in Jaffna, where the agencies of the English and Scottish Protestant Churches and the Roman Catholic Churches were supplemented by an American Mission. But some idea of this multiplication of schools in other parts may be gathered from the following extract from a Report submitted to Government in 1881 :

“On the Galle road between Wellawatta and Moratuwa there are about sixty schools of which twelve are close to the high road within two miles of Wellawatta, twenty-four are clustered about Galkissa, and twenty-four others in the immediate neighbourhood of Moratuwa; the whole distance from Wellawatta to Moratuwa railway station being about eight miles, and none of the schools lying more than half a mile from the main road. An analysis of other groups would probably show similar results.”

As an attempt to remedy this state of things led to serious opposition, I make no apology for reproducing a circular issued to the managers of grant-in-aid schools during the first year of my administration. The causes which had been at work in Ceylon have been and are producing similar controversies in many other fields of colonial missionary enterprise.

“Office of the Director of Public Instruction,
 “Colombo, 25th October, 1879.

“SIR,—The large number of applications for grants in aid of new schools, which I have recently found myself unable to recommend to Government, induces me to invite the attention of Managers to the following considerations :—

“The almost unlimited readiness of this Department to open new schools within the last nine years has led to a multiplication of small and feeble schools, in districts where the interest of the inhabitants would be much better served by a few good schools. This refers as well to Government as to grant-in-aid schools, and, so far as the former are concerned, active measures are being taken to close forthwith unnecessary schools. I appeal with confidence to Managers to assist the Department in restricting the number of schools to the necessities of the people.

“It is a mistake to suppose that the duty of Government in regard to grant-in-aid schools is entirely limited by result payments. It is clearly to the advantage of the people, whose interests are the interests of the Government, that in schools aided by public funds instruction should be afforded in such a way that its acquisition is not rendered unnecessarily slow or laborious, that a child should not, owing to the incapacity of the teacher, spend tedious years in learning what, under a skilled and efficient teacher, can be acquired in a few months. The unnecessarily long time spent by boys in primary village schools, during the whole of which payments are made on their behalf by Govern-

ment, has been frequently and strongly pointed out by inspectors of schools in Ceylon. In short, if the quality of the instruction paid for is not as good as may be fairly and reasonably expected, a proper value is not received by Government, and the people are not educated up to their ability to receive instruction. If a large school of two hundred children can be substituted for eight small ones of twenty-five children,—and this is by no means an exaggerated illustration—it is clear that a larger salary can be provided for the head teacher, and greater inducement held out to persons of worth and capacity to engage in the profession. I need hardly point the incomparably greater facilities afforded by large schools for grouping children in classes of uniform acquirements.

“But if the multiplication of small schools is injurious to the speedy and easy acquisition of learning, it is still more prejudicial to good discipline. In one of the Administration Reports of the Department, it was asserted,—and I have no doubt accurately—that in many grant-in-aid schools it is the boy who determines the class in which he shall be placed, and not the teacher; and more than one Manager has told me that, in the vicinity of rival schools, the Manager has almost no control either over the teacher or the students.

“I am ready to presume that, as a general rule, the expense of setting up and maintaining schools which must always be thinly attended, is not without its effect upon Managers, and I am also ready to make every possible concession to the spirit of those who feel that an encroachment on civil and religious

liberty is involved in compelling children to attend schools in the religious influence of which the parents have no confidence, but in the great majority of applications received by this Department very few, and in many cases none of the students attending the school for which aid is asked, belong to the religion of the Managers. In such circumstances it is clear that the question of secular instruction is the only thing to be considered, and where an efficient school exists, it is surely unreasonable to ask the Department to support a rival establishment.

“In offering this explanation of the reasons which have prompted me to decline to recommend to Government a large number of schools, I beg to assure you of my desire to offer you every facility in my power in the way of supplying with efficient schools every district in the Colony in which the means of education are wanting.”

Simultaneously with the reorganisation of the inspecting agency, it was necessary to draw up a code of departmental rules for the guidance of the teaching staff of the Government schools whose work the inspectors were to supervise. It was based upon a mass of departmental decisions, instructions, interpretations, and modifications, some of which had to be ignored in practice, and which, as a whole, had never been made accessible to the persons they were intended to guide and control. In the preparation of this code, it was decided to adopt the custom of the Department wherever it had been adhered to with any approach to consistency, my object being to establish a set of fixed and

definite rules, to serve as a *modus vivendi* until a larger experience might qualify me to deal with questions of reform. The code at the same time included a system of classification and payment for the staff. The reorganisation of the inspecting agency and the code for Government schools having been completed, it remained to draw up a code of rules and regulations for grant-in-aid schools to take the place of the provisional arrangements which had been in force. In the preparation of this code, too, the aim of the Department was not so much the immediate extension of the educational edifice as the laying of a solid and symmetrical foundation for the future superstructure.

In the meantime, however, I had to remember that in all times and in all countries the higher education of the few has preceded the elementary education of the many, and that this must be accepted as the natural order of development. The present Director of Public Instruction in Ceylon has very well expressed himself on the subject in an article in *The Federal Magazine* for April, 1907, on the education of native races. He says: "In a country where society has been organised for a long period there is sure to be an upper class, whom birth and material well-being have raised above the necessity of constant manual labour. The new-comer is apt to underrate the importance of such distinctions when they do not follow quite the same lines as those of his own country, and those engaged in philanthropic and missionary efforts have sometimes made the mistake of ignoring them altogether. Before a country is ripe for any general educational

system the way must be prepared for it by training a small number of the most influential class. It is desirable that this training should be accompanied by personal influence of a marked kind, by the cultivation of higher enthusiasms, of loyalty to institutions, and as much as possible of the *esprit de corps* which has been the leading feature of the English public schools. The existence of something in the nature of an educated class with a public opinion in favour of education seems to be a necessary condition to the success of any general scheme for the elementary education of the main body of the population."

The educational system of Ceylon may be called a system of three dimensions, working by three agencies, Government agency, native agency, and the agency of the Christian Churches. The three agencies dovetail into each other, the Government agency into the native agency by the legitimate and natural pressure of its position, the native agency into the agency of the Christian Churches by consent and persuasion. It will be convenient at the outset to illustrate the relation of Government to the native agency by a concrete illustration from a report of the Inspector of the Central Province :

"Perhaps the most interesting and successful education experiment of the year in this province was the simultaneous opening, early in 1880, of six new vernacular schools in the district of Mátalé North by Mr. Ellis, Assistant Government Agent. Mátalé North was never held to be a promising field for educational operations, and the one or

two vernacular schools we had in the district previous to 1880 are even now perishing for want of scholars. Mr. Ellis invited candidates for the six new teacherships, and, out of a large number of applicants who came forward, selected twenty-four as possessing influence, either in their own persons or through their near relations, in their respective villages. An examination, at which the Director of Public Instruction was present, was held of the twenty-four selected candidates at the Mátalé Kachcheri, and eight of them were declared to have passed satisfactorily. The first six in the order of merit were at once appointed teachers on probation, Mr. Ellis taking care to send to each village the person whom he judged most likely, from local considerations, to succeed best as schoolmaster in that village. The bungalows for the new schools were, as usual, put up by the villagers, the Department providing the furniture and apparatus. All the six schools are under the general supervision of the Village Gansabhawas, the president of which, himself an educated gentleman, takes, even quite apart from his official position, a real interest in all efforts made for the instruction of the people."

And in the same report, after explaining the difficulty of extending education in the Province, he concludes :

"The selection of suitable places for opening new schools, and the taking of measures to get the villagers to put up bungalows, and to send their children to school, must in a great measure be left, and are best left, to local headmen acting under the different provincial and district Government

Agents. Judging by the applications for new schools that are coming in, a very large increase in the number of Government vernacular schools in the Central Province may be expected within the next few years. The task of organising and supervising these new schools, and of introducing order and method to existing schools completely demoralised by long neglect, will provide a sufficiency of useful and laborious employment for the inspecting officers working in the province."

The association, on the other hand, of the native agency with the agency of the Christian Churches is the result of two influences,—the spiritual influence which is the alpha and omega of their enterprise, and to a certain extent, it must be admitted, the influence of the temporal, but perfectly legitimate interests of the native community. The causes which had given strength to this agency may be briefly explained. In the year 1869 the administration was centralised in a Department of Public Instruction under an officer, styled the Director, responsible only to the Governor. One of the first acts of the new administration was to remove existing restrictions in regard to religious teaching and the use of text books in schools. For a system under which some missionary agencies had found it impossible to accept aid from Government for their educational work, there was substituted a system of payment by results to be made impartially to all schools for secular instruction only. With this concession to the Christian Churches the growth and development of their agency was rapid. In one year the number of aided schools rose from

twenty-one to 229, while the result of the new system during the decennial period preceding my appointment as Director is shown in these figures :

	1869.	1879.
Government Schools, - - - -	64	243
Aided Schools - - - - -	21	595

Broadly speaking, it is enough to define Government schools as schools controlled entirely by the Department and maintained entirely out of public funds; grant-in-aid, or aided schools as schools under the limited control of the Department and maintained by limited aid from public funds. The system of result payments was not limited to the agency of the Christian Churches, but in 1879 all the aided schools, with rare exceptions, were under this agency, although in some of them neither teachers nor pupils professed the religion of the Christian denomination which had adopted them, organised them, and enabled them to fulfil the conditions entitling them to a grant-in-aid. At the time the native agency had little direct official recognition. It was recognised only when under the protection of the Government agency on the one hand, and of the Christian agency on the other. But outside the State system a large number of indigenous schools with little pretension to organisation, and, for the time, with no desire to organise themselves so as to enter within the State system, were at work. Large numbers of these schools existed, attached generally to the service of the Buddhist, Hindu, and Mahomedan religions. In many of them instruction was given in reading from palm-leaf manuscripts, and in writing on the surface of the floor

strewn with sand. The general policy of the Government, starting with the introduction of the result-payment scheme, was to draw this native agency into the circle of Departmental influence with a view to its ultimate emancipation as an independent partner in the educational system of three dimensions. This policy was not in any way inconsistent with the desire of the Government to recognise and encourage, in a spirit of mutual confidence, the work of the Christian Churches. The general opinion of the Missionary Societies happened, while I was in Ceylon, to be very clearly expressed by a deputation received by the Marquess of Ripon in England at the time of his appointment as Viceroy of India. In the memorial presented to him, they said :

“Your Memorialists beg it to be distinctly understood that they do not ask for any special favour or support for any Christian institutions, but desire that native institutions be equally encouraged and aided by the Government in a liberal spirit. While they openly proclaim their wish that all India may be brought under the beneficent influence of Christian institutions, they would deprecate any attempt by Government at proselytism or interference with the religious belief of the people.”

The Rev. E. E. Jenkins, of the Methodist Missionary Society, said :

“We do not, as has been alleged against us, desire to commit the people of India to the alternative of sending their children to mission schools, or remaining without schools altogether. . . . What we ask, my Lord, with all respect and sub-

mission is this, that the educational policy of the State in India should operate in the direction of drawing out the private resources of the people and stimulating, by every encouragement, private effort. That they are able and willing to justify the policy is evident by the number and character of the institutions that are now under native management. . . . We do not ask, as Missionary Societies, a monopoly of Government aid ; but in the language of the Despatch (1859) from the Secretary of State for India, in reply to a memorial from the natives of Madras, that there may be 'grants available for schools maintained by persons of all denominations indifferently ; provided that the education given be equal to the prescribed standard.'"

Dr. Underhill (Baptist Missionary Society) said :

"If a Mahommedan or Hindu gentleman wishes to set up a school and to obtain the grant-in-aid offered by the Despatch (of 1854), we have no wish to preclude the grant of such assistance. On the contrary, we desire that favours should be shown to every party alike. . . . We only ask that in carrying out the Despatch, all parties should be impartially dealt with, and that the Directors of Education in all the Presidencies should show their interest in all educational efforts, from whatever party they may proceed."

In addressing the deputation, the Marquess of Ripon expressed himself in these words :

"We must bear in mind the peculiar circumstances of our rule in India. It is, if I may use the expression, one of the fundamental principles of the constitution of India that the British

Government will in no way, direct or indirect, interfere with the religion of the native races, or do anything calculated to arouse the slightest suspicion of such interference in their minds. To this our faith is pledged, and by this pledge honour and wisdom alike require us to abide. There is scarcely any question with respect to which it is of more importance to keep this principle steadily in view than that of education, and I rejoice therefore to observe that you recognise this fact in the memorial which you have presented to me."

It would be impossible for me to select language which could express my own views more clearly than the language of these extracts; and it was on this understanding that I felt justified in encouraging to the utmost of my power the exertions of the religious societies in Ceylon.

Of course, such a system depends on an adjustment of religious difficulties, and in Ceylon an adjustment effective for all practical purposes has been found. No religious instruction is recognised by the Department of Public Instruction. In Government schools none is permitted; in aided schools the Department takes no cognisance of it. A certain number of hours are required to be devoted daily to secular instruction exclusively.

In the spirit thus indicated, I sought to make the Colombo Academy the sun or central force of an educational system on the principles I have exhibited in my review of the educational system of Mauritius. The Colombo Academy had been

established in the year 1836 by Governor Sir R. W. Horton, "as an institution calculated to afford the inhabitants of Colombo and the island the means of securing for their children a superior and liberal education on a permanent basis." The fact that within a period of a little more than thirty years it had been four times reconstructed showed how difficult it was to carry out the original intention of providing Ceylon with an institution on the lines of the great English public schools. I found that the Academy, as reconstructed in 1869, had been doing good work on its classical side, but on its modern side serious work had hardly commenced, the first appointment of a science master having not long preceded my arrival in the colony. No time was lost in providing on the Estimates for a laboratory; the necessary equipment was ordered; the preparation of text-books adapted to local circumstances, for the teaching of botany, agriculture, and other subjects, was put in hand; and I was able in my first Administration Report to express a hope that before long scientific education would take a place at the Academy worthy of the premier Crown colony of the Empire, and in accordance with the spirit of the modern world.

The laboratory was opened in 1880. In 1881 by the Queen's gracious permission the designation of the Academy was changed to Royal College, a title more appropriate to the position I desired the establishment to occupy in the educational system of the colony. For, above all, I was anxious to enlarge the sphere of influence of the Academy

by making it the nucleus of a system of superior instruction on the lines I laid down in the following terms:

“The Academy, representing the principle of endowments, as opposed to private enterprise, ought to offer the advantages summed up by those who support endowed institutions, as superior organisation, fixed principles, and readjustment from time to time in accordance with the supreme intelligence of the community. But the more fully superior organisation and fixity of principles are secured, the more certainly will they tend to a rigidity of method which contrasts unfavourably with the greater elasticity of private enterprise. Endowed schools are apt to be like the bed of Procrustes, which exactly fitted very few of those who had to lie in it. For strongly marked inclinations, types of character, and sentiments, they can make but little allowance, and thus they cramp the juvenile mind in one case and unduly stretch it in another. The larger the school the more this is felt, because the less regard can be had to those eccentricities of character which remove individual boys from the hard and fast line of moral and intellectual development which must be drawn somewhere. In private schools it is otherwise; most private schools appeal to the wishes of individuals, and these are regulated partly by the inclination of parents and partly by the tastes and aptitudes of their children. One school pays particular and early attention to the rudiments of classical learning or to modern languages; another to mathematics or to physical science; another to moral

or social discipline. While this partiality, if not exaggerated, often produces admirable results, it frequently tends to onesidedness and implants or confirms prejudices. While one department of study is prosecuted with enthusiasm and success, too little regard is paid to the general adjustment of instruction to the wants of the human mind. If we could combine the superiority of organisation and greater fixity of principle of endowments with the elasticity of private enterprise, we might hope to provide a system, which, carried on with ordinary care and moderate ability, would lead to largely beneficial results."

In brief my purpose was that the Royal College, re-organised under the direct control of the Department of Public Instruction, should serve as a standard and guide for private agencies in their work of re-organisation.

Up to this time the encouragement given by Government to private enterprise in the work of superior instruction was limited to an open competitive examination, styled the Local Examination, at which three scholarships, tenable for three years at the Academy, and a mathematical prize were awarded. This scheme had started with some promise of a success which was not realised. As a criterion of the value of the higher instruction imparted in the high schools and colleges of the colony the evidence of failure was complete. In 1878 the aided schools had practically withdrawn from competition, while the Academy sent up only one candidate of indifferent merit. I traced the failure of the scheme mainly to three causes.

(1) The absence of direct inducement at a time when the bulk of the community was in that early stage of culture which measures the value of education by its immediate and tangible result : (2) The condition which required a successful candidate for the scholarships to leave his school and residence, it might be in a remote part of the Island, and continue his studies in Colombo. This condition debarred many who had no friends with whom they could reside in Colombo, and it made managers unwilling to co-operate in the scheme, because so far as they were concerned, the only result of success was to withdraw the very scholars likely to bring them satisfaction and credit : (3) The want of recognised and established authority and prestige in the examining board. In this respect no casual company of examiners, however eminent their individual attainments may be, can ever carry the weight of a University examination.

The measures which I proposed to substitute for the existing system may be summarised thus.

To introduce the examinations of the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate, with examining centres in Colombo, Kandy, Galle, Jaffna, and in other places if required. To grant result payments to managers of aided schools whose pupils should pass under the various heads of examination, and to give prizes to every candidate for each subject in which he should pass in honours. To establish three exhibitions, to be awarded on the result of the Junior Local Examination, tenable for three years either at the Royal College or at any registered High School. To make the Senior Local Examina-

tion the examination for two English University scholarships, and to throw both open to public competition.

Unfortunately, for financial reasons, my desire to offer two scholarships, one in arts and one in science, could not at the time be accomplished. The managers of aided schools urged that the standards of the Cambridge Local Examination were beyond the reach of their students, and it was decided to adopt a system of grants for examination in specific subjects of higher secular instruction. In view of the cost of this scheme, and in consideration of the paramount importance of extending primary instruction, the Government decided only to throw open to public competition the University scholarship, till then limited to scholars of the Royal College, without offering for the time a second scholarship.

My experience has proved the Cambridge Local Examination to be a potent factor in the encouragement of public instruction in the Crown colonies, and I look back with grateful recollection to the time when it brought me into relationship with the Rev. G. F. Browne, now Bishop of Bristol, for many years secretary to the Syndicate for Local Examinations. Of the steadily expanding influence of the system in Ceylon, I find evidence in the annual reports of the Director of Public Instruction. In 1880 there were presented four seniors, students of the Academy, and fifteen juniors, students of the Academy and two other colleges. In 1881 forty-nine presentations included five junior girls, students in a Government school. In 1907 there were presented for examination 898 candidates, 325 senior

and 484 junior boys ; thirty-five senior and 105 junior girls. Of the boys 267 were presented by thirty-five colleges and high schools, while fifty-eight had been privately educated ; of the girls 136 were presented by twenty-seven colleges and high schools including six convent schools, while four had been privately educated.

In the mean time, however, the award of the University scholarship was transferred to the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, under whose authority special examinations were held in Ceylon, in English, Latin, and Greek, and, in alternate years, in English, mathematics, and natural science.

Reverting to the period of my own activity as Director of Public Instruction ; in 1882, arrangements were made to extend the course of studies of the Royal College so as to include the matriculation and intermediate (first B.A.) examinations of the University of London, and the first matriculation examination was held in January, 1883. The introduction of the London University examinations was followed by the award of grants to the successful candidates, and as the importance of meeting the needs of students, who wished to obtain locally as many as possible of the advantages of a university, came to be appreciated, steps were taken to place the higher education of the island in direct communication with the London University courses in arts and science. In 1902 the Senate of the University passed the following resolutions :

“That the University arrange to conduct the examination for the English University Scholarship,

given by the Government of Ceylon, by setting papers of the matriculation standard, or, if necessary, of a more advanced character.

“That, if the Ceylon Government will undertake to provide assistant examiners to supervise the practical examinations, and report thereon to the examiners, the University hold the Science Examinations in Ceylon.”

In 1906 my original intention to establish two University scholarships was fulfilled, one being awarded on an examination in English, mathematics, and science held by the Oxford and Cambridge Board, and another on the results of the London Intermediate Examination in arts. In the following year a new system adopted by arrangement with the University of London came into operation, and two scholarships were awarded on the results of the Intermediate Examinations, one for arts and one for science. The holders of these scholarships are at liberty to join any university in the United Kingdom and graduate in arts, science, medicine, or law, or to follow a course of engineering at any recognised school or university.

In his report for 1906 the Director of Public Instruction observed that the new system marked a definite stage in the University question. “It does not,” he said, “of course, terminate that question, but it puts the work of the colleges which compete for the University Scholarship on a settled basis for the present, and begins what, it is hoped, will be a period of development on new lines. It is not suggested that the system now introduced is a final settlement of the question. The final settle-

ment, when the Colony is ready for it, must take the form of the provision of adequate University teaching in Colombo. Government has taken a step in this direction by providing science teaching in connection with the new laboratories at the Technical College. Two Professors were appointed in 1906 in Chemistry and Physics, who are to be Professors of the Medical and Technical Colleges. They will give theoretical and practical instruction in these subjects to students from the Colombo schools and colleges who take these subjects in the London Intermediate Examination in Science."

Before leaving the domain of superior instruction, I may add that, during my tenure of office, Mr. Cull, then Principal of the Royal College, afterwards Director of Public Instruction, energetically associated himself with me in the formation of a cadet corps to be attached to the Ceylon Volunteers. In my last report, as Director, published in 1882, I was able to say that this proposal was approved at Headquarters, and that the nominal strength of the corps included nearly all the boys of the College of sufficient age. I added the expression of my hope that it might serve as a permanent school of physical training for the students of the Royal College. My hope was not immediately realised, but that the spirit that inspired it has lived is shown by the report of the Director for the year 1907, in which he states that drill is taught in all Government schools, and is encouraged in grant-in-aid schools by a small drill bonus. In 1907 the drill bonus was earned by ninety schools, as compared with sixty-six

in 1906 ; and the strength of the eight companies of the cadet battalion was as follows :

	Officers.	Non-Com. Officers.	Cadets.	Total.
Royal College - -	3	13	39	55
Wesley College - -	3	15	46	64
St. Thomas's College	3	14	37	56
Kingswood College -	2	11	32	45
Trinity College - -	3	15	50	68
Richmond College -	2	15	46	63
Prince of Wales's College	3	15	34	52
St. Joseph's College -	3	—	57	60

Coincidentally with the organisation, on the lines I have indicated, of superior education, having for its object the diffusion of European knowledge, and the use of the English language as a key to the arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Western civilisation, it was my desire to encourage the study, in special institutions, of the classical languages which are a key to the understanding of the religions, arts, science, philosophy, and literature of the East. The chief seat of this learning was the Widyodaya College (Máligákanda), having for its Principal, Sumangala, the learned high priest of Adam's Peak. He had recently endowed the College with a library of Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhalese manuscripts, which was opened soon after my arrival in Ceylon. In the following year the College, including forty-one priests and seventeen laymen, was examined by competent scholars, who furnished a detailed and elaborate report. I invited the attention of the learned Principal to the recommendations made by them with a view to securing an improved system of organisation and teaching, and was

encouraged by finding that at the end of the year the number of students on the roll had risen to ninety-four, of whom sixty-eight were priests and twenty-six laymen. From that time my relations with the Buddhist priests of Ceylon were of the friendliest nature, as were subsequently my relations with the priests and pandits of Hinduism in northern Ceylon. During the whole period of my service in Ceylon I reaped an abundant harvest of advantage from the many years of my own life devoted to the study of Oriental languages, literature, and religions. There are perhaps few incidents of a long and laborious career which my memory recalls with greater satisfaction than an interview with the Buddhist priests of Ceylon who assembled in Colombo from many temples and viharas to bid me farewell before I left the colony. They presented me with an extremely valuable Pali manuscript on sheets of ivory, which I received the special sanction of the Secretary of State to accept.

The encouragement given to the Widyodaya College, subsidised by a small lump-sum grant, was followed by a revival of the study of Oriental learning, a movement promoted, before I left Ceylon, by the missionary enterprise of the Theosophists. In 1902 the Director, with the co-operation of eminent native scholars, organised a Committee on Oriental Studies, the object being to centralise and bring to a system the work of the institutions devoted to the purpose of supplying them with a common course of studies on which annual examinations might be held. It was proposed to have three examinations: a preliminary,

an intermediate, and a final—the last to be approximately equal to the degree of B.A. (in languages) of a university, and entitling a successful candidate to the Committee's diploma. The first preliminary examination was held in 1903, the subjects including Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese, and the history and archaeology of Ceylon. In 1907 Preliminary and Intermediate examinations were held in Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhalese. In 1906 a Branch Tamil Committee was formed in Jaffna. The study of Sinhalese has been further encouraged by a Diamond Jubilee Prize offered annually by Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara for Sinhalese in English high schools and colleges. In 1907 four colleges competed for this prize.

I have so far dealt mainly with the organisation of superior instruction for the male community, but I have never been blind to the paramount importance of female education as a means of introducing what is best in Western civilisation into the social life of Eastern peoples. At the same time, however, and for this very reason, I conceived it to be my duty to exercise the utmost caution in selecting mistresses for the girls' schools of the colony, for all that has been said of the necessity that the higher education of the few must precede the elementary education of the many is peculiarly applicable to the case of women. Fortunately, the agencies of the Christian Churches in Ceylon had with one consent recognised the value of female education as a moral power in the home and in the principal centres of their religious and educational activity. They had established boarding

and convent schools, which had become powerful agencies to raise the tone and manners of the lower social strata. For their influence was not limited to the period of their pupils' residence. The career of the girls in after life was watched with affectionate interest by the managers, and left no doubt of the beneficial and civilising influence they exercised. After my earliest visits to them I declared my belief that if the Government wished to pay for permanent and indelible rather than transitory results, the money paid for one girl educated in a Mission boarding school or convent school was worth ten times the sum paid for a girl taught in a day school. Girls everywhere, but more especially in the native communities of our Crown colonies, require education rather than instruction; and it is only in a boarding school that a girl can be educated in habits of order and cleanliness, refinement of thought, delicacy of feeling, propriety of behaviour, and other qualities which we believe to be of the essence of female excellence.

First and last, I thought it the duty of Government to extend to the Protestant boarding schools of the Anglican, Wesleyan, Baptist, and American Missions as well as to the Roman Catholic convents generous encouragement and aid. I have given a few figures to illustrate the success of the schools to which I refer in the Cambridge University Local Examination, but it would be a mistake to suppose that their work can be measured by this or any other standard of examination in art or science. By universal testimony they have effected a gradual but marked improvement in the social life of the com-

munities within their sphere of influence, not only in morality, but in greater devotion to industrial habits. Household work and needle work, especially in the making of garments, have always been subjects of their intelligent attention, while in many districts they did much to give a high value to the embroidery and lace of the colony. In the recent development of the great industries of Ceylon, such as tea and rubber, the minor industries of lace and embroidery attract but scanty notice; but there seems to be no reason why, with encouragement, they should not occupy as considerable a place in the future of the Crown colonies as embroidery has taken in the industrial art of India. At this moment efforts are being made to restore the fortunes of St. Helena by various agencies, among others, the lace industry. In June, 1907, Lord Crewe, in opening an exhibition of St. Helena lace, declared that the industry was worthy of every possible encouragement, and expressed the hope that it might supply a large area of employment for the women and girls of the colony.

While on the subject of female education, I may mention, incidentally, that in 1879 the Kindergarten system was introduced into a girls' school, and thus the first step was taken towards the establishment of infants' schools in the colony.

In Ceylon, as in India, it is the area of secondary instruction that presents the gravest difficulties, the area that has to be crossed by a road leading from the primary schools to the high schools and colleges of superior instruction, and through these to the service of the State, to the learned professions, to

profitable and honourable employment in every domain of industry and commerce. In this area the question of language presents the most formidable problem. So soon as I had organised the inspecting agency, I had to classify the schools, and I followed the general classification adopted in India of primary, middle, and high schools or colleges, both for English and vernacular schools. It was in the middle vernacular schools that the difficulty arose, the question being whether they might, at the option of the managers, be made bilingual from the lowest class, or whether English should be taught in them as an optional subject, only as a sequel to a fixed standard of instruction in the vernacular, and rigorously excluded from schools which could under no circumstances teach to that standard. It was the former system that had been adopted, or rather allowed to exist, and I was urged by a group of managers to give it the sanction of the Code. Another group of managers opposed it, and their objections were concisely stated by one of their number in the following terms :

“ There is such a craving for the acquisition of a knowledge of a few words of English among the people, that wherever there is a vernacular middle school, the master of which knows a little English, some boys will want to learn that language ; and the school will be registered as an Anglo-vernacular school. Consequently, other boys in the neighbourhood will, in self-defence, be compelled to learn English, and the result will be that the country will be flooded with a lot of young fellows, too conceited for honest work, and having no desire to acquire a

thorough knowledge of English in a high school. A little English is a very dangerous thing in this country, and will prove the curse and ruin of many."

As the experience of the Department had proved conclusively the justice of these observations, and that under the existing system either English was taught atrociously and the vernacular not at all, or the vernacular was taught atrociously and English, for all practical purposes, not at all, it was decided that in the Anglo-vernacular schools for the future English should be taught through the medium of the vernacular and only to scholars who had proficiency in the latter, all other instruction being given only through the vernacular.

I was confirmed in my decision by the action of the Government of Bengal which had recently reconstituted their intermediate English schools exactly in accordance with the principles I adopted. As the principles involved are and must remain of the first importance not only in India and in Ceylon, but in many or most of our Crown colonies, it may be well for me to reproduce extracts from the Government Orders on the subject, which indicate the evolution of the system in India.

Order of Government of Bengal, October 29, 1878.

"The area of secondary instruction has been narrowed during the year by the abolition, as a separate class, of the schools ranked as lower or intermediate English. The policy that Government has followed with regard to the teaching of English in schools below those that read to the entrance standard of the University may be described as a

return to the principles affirmed successively by Sir John Grant and Sir Cecil Beadon. According to those principles, the middle vernacular schools established by Government were to be regarded as model schools for the advancement of education among the rural classes, who must always remain strangers to the English language and literature. Side by side with, and attached to these vernacular schools, there sprung up, however, in many places English classes, whose object was to give those who read the full vernacular course some additional instruction in English. In course of time, the English teaching, originally intended to be supplementary and subordinate to the vernacular course, assumed an unduly prominent position. History and other subjects were read in English, and the vernacular was proportionately neglected. It followed, therefore, that all students in such schools, except those few who were afterwards to proceed to a higher English school, received from masters, themselves ill-instructed in English, an education which was imperfect, and in too many cases worthless, both on its vernacular and on its English side. The late orders of Government declare the necessity of re-adjusting the mutual relations of English and the vernacular by re-constituting middle English schools on a true vernacular basis."

The immediate results of the new system were stated in a subsequent Order.

Order of Government of Bengal, October 22, 1879.

"The policy of placing the course in middle English schools upon a vernacular basis has been

discussed at considerable length in the Inspector's reports, and though some officers regard the change with disfavour, the balance of opinion inclines to the view adopted by the Director, that the measure was sound in principle, and that it will be productive of good results. Mr. Bellett, Inspector of the Rajshaye circle, writes thus : ' The measure was by no means a popular one, and its unpopularity was, I believe, almost without exception, in proportion to the need which existed for it. The class of teachers which most hates to be obliged to teach in Bengali is the class in which the knowledge of English is the slightest, and not only is it the case that the pupils in middle English schools now learn their other lessons more satisfactorily by far than they could formerly when they were taught in a tongue "not understood of" either pupil or teacher ; but I have noticed during the course of my tours this past year less of that miserable parrot work than there used to be in the teaching of English itself.'

“ Sir Stewart Bailey has no doubt that the change of system will be found beneficial to the true interest of the pupils. It is entirely in accordance with the recommendation of the Simla Text-Book Committee that in the lower stages of instruction substantive knowledge should, if possible, be imparted in the vernacular, a recommendation based upon the rational principle that students, who have had their minds trained and developed by the acquisition of ideas through their own mother-tongue are more likely to turn out clever men than those who have spent the best years of their childhood in the painful

acquisition of foreign words to which they are unable to attach any ideas."

The views expressed in these Orders were confirmed by a resolution of the Government of India upon the Report of an Indian Education Commission, in the following terms :

Order of Government of India, October 23, 1884.

" There is one matter regarding which no specific recommendation is made, but to which attention is drawn in the resolution appointing the Commission, and which is discussed in paragraphs 249-50 of their report, viz., the place which should be occupied by English and the vernacular in middle schools. The Governor-General in Council is disposed to agree with the Commission that, for boys whose education terminates with the middle course, instruction through the vernacular is likely to be the most effective and satisfactory. The experience of Bengal goes indeed to show that even for lads pursuing their studies in High Schools a thorough grounding conveyed through their own vernacular leads to satisfactory after-results. It is urged by those who take this view that many of the complaints of the unsatisfactory quality of the training given in the middle and high schools of the country are accounted for by the attempt to convey instruction through a foreign tongue. The boys, it is said, learn a smattering of very indifferent English, while their minds receive no development by the imparting to them of useful knowledge in a shape comprehensible to their intellect, since they never really assimilate the instruction imparted to them. It has

been proposed to meet this difficulty by providing that English shall only be taught in middle schools as a language, and even then only as an extra subject where there is a real demand for it and a readiness to pay for such instruction. His Excellency in Council commends this matter to the careful consideration of Local Governments and Educational authorities."

I recall these Orders all the more willingly because I understand from recent reports that there has been a tendency to revert to the old system. From an article in the *Federal Magazine* for April, 1907, by the Director of Public Instruction, I gather that it has been reverted to in Ceylon, although he is not enthusiastic in favour of the change. It appears to have been made before the system it replaced had had a chance of working, in accordance, as he says, with the besetting sin of colonial Administrations, a tendency towards sudden and complete reversal of policy. In the same number of the same *Magazine*, the Director of Public Instruction in Burma disapproved the tendency to revert to the old system in the following terms :

"The courses and systems respectively of elementary and secondary education dovetail fairly satisfactorily, but English is begun too soon in Anglo-Vernacular Schools. Native pupils who desire to learn English should preferably go through four vernacular standards before going on to a school or department in which English is taught."

It was exactly the four-standard test of proficiency that I adopted in my Anglo-vernacular system.

If I have given priority to superior and secondary

education in my narrative of work in Ceylon, it is for the reason already indicated that the higher education of the few must of necessity precede the elementary education of the many. When my Code was prepared and submitted to Government, I took the opportunity to declare, in my Annual Report for the year 1879, that "while other branches of education had not been lost sight of, the fundamental idea at the base of its various provisions for standards of examination, result payments, pupil-teacher system and training of teachers had been the extension of efficient primary vernacular schools throughout the Colony."

This policy naturally involved three considerations,—the range of subjects to be taught, the educational agencies available, and the all-important question of ways and means. The range of study in primary vernacular schools was not difficult to determine. The Code provided for five years' work, and it was assumed that within that period a child of average intelligence and regular attendance might learn to read and write fairly, and know enough of figures to carry him through the calculations of ordinary life. In addition to this, he would learn something in the books he must read for practice, and something more from the teacher without books. Under an efficient teacher, with his heart in his work, he might hope to leave school not altogether unequipped for the humble career which ordinarily lies before him. He would read well enough to improve his acquaintance with books if he chose; he would be able to make out a bill, to sign a receipt, and to write a letter; he would be familiar

enough with figures not to be cheated in paying an account; and he would have some general knowledge of the colony and of the physical conditions of the world,—that kind of knowledge which an intelligent teacher can give in conversational lectures with the help of a blackboard, some maps, and dates. This pretty well expresses the unambitious but practical aim of the primary standards of the Ceylon Code, and I venture to think that it fairly expresses what must be the aim of primary schools in Crown colonies generally. So much knowledge it was the desire of the Department to place within reach of every child in the colony. In order to reach the outlying, sparsely populated and neglected districts, special facilities of a liberal kind were given for the maintenance in them of schools known as C. schools, and these were at the same time designed to meet the requirements of the immigrant coolie population of Tamils on the up-country estates. The development of enterprise in the production of tea, cocoa and rubber led to an enormous growth of this population, simultaneously with a growing demand for education in the other outlying districts of the interior, for whose wants the C. schools were intended, and enforced the necessity for a revised system. The subject was for many years under discussion, and at last resulted in the enactment of the Rural Schools Ordinance, 1907, which provided separate schemes for estate schools and schools for the general indigenous community of the rural districts of the interior.

As regards estate schools the Ordinance

imposed the following duties on the superintendent of every estate :

- (1) To provide for the vernacular education of the children of the labourers employed on the estate between the ages of six and ten, and to set apart and keep in repair a suitable schoolroom.
- (2) To furnish certain returns to the Director of Public Instruction.
- (3) To cause a school teacher to keep a register showing the names and ages of children employed on the estate between the ages of six and ten, and also an attendance register showing the presence or absence of each child on every day on which school is held.

The Ordinance also provides for the inspection of estate schools and for the use of a common school by two or more estates, and gives powers by which Government can deal with cases in which no provision is made by making such provision at the expense of the estate.

As regards the general rural community, the Ordinance enacted the following provisions :

School Districts. Every revenue district and every Province which is not divided into revenue districts to be a school district.

District Schools Committee. Each school district to have its Committee, consisting of :

(a) A chairman, who shall be the Government Agent of the Province, or, in his absence, the Assistant Government Agent of the district.

(b) The Director of Public Instruction, or, in his absence, an officer of the Department of Public Instruction appointed by him.

(c) One of the chief headmen of the district nominated by the Government Agent.

(d) One or more school managers or other persons interested in education in the district nominated by the Governor.

Schemes. Each District Committee to prepare a scheme for the establishment of vernacular schools for the education of all male children, and, if they think fit, for the education of all female children resident in the school district for whose education efficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made. The Ordinance gives detailed instructions for the guidance of the Committee in making such schemes.

By-Laws. The Committee have the power of making by-laws for the enforcement of regular attendance at grant-in-aid schools as well as at Government Schools.

Reverting from this digression to the methods adopted to carry instruction beyond the elementary stage of the primary vernacular schools, the Code provided a scheme of bifurcation. A primary school might become a middle vernacular school by making arrangements to provide through a duly qualified teacher a three years' course of higher instruction in vernacular literature, and in general knowledge through the medium of the vernacular, the aim of the middle vernacular school being to place a native boy or girl in a position to master all the existing resources of their own language. Or, a

primary vernacular school might become an Anglo-vernacular school of the type I have described, having for its aim to afford to all who possess an aptitude for superior instruction the means of acquiring a knowledge of English as a key to the arts, science, or philosophy of Europe.

An eminent authority in England has recently declared that there is no question affecting elementary education in this country of greater importance than the supply and training of properly qualified teachers. Thirty years ago the truth of this proposition was not fully recognised in Ceylon, and my proposals to make the employment of certificated teachers obligatory, in all vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools maintained or aided by Government, met with some opposition, although they contemplated only a gradual enforcement of the rule and allowed a period of ten years before it should be brought into complete operation. As regards Government schools, the Department had not been unmindful of its duty, and a central training school in Colombo, called the Normal School, had for some years been maintained at considerable cost, and with energy and intelligence on the part of the Principal, but the re-organisation of the whole system of education made it necessary to re-organise the Normal School, so as to adapt it to the requirements of the new Code. In the scheme of re-organisation it was steadily borne in mind that the intention of the school was to train students to be teachers in the vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools of the Department, and that consequently its chief aim

must be to turn out scholars highly trained in the art of communicating to others the measure of knowledge required in the schools in which they were to teach. The appointment of a head-master, qualified to teach science and art, was at once confronted by practical difficulties in the want of vernacular text-books. The difficulty had to be met by the dictation of notes in Sinhalese, and by the preparation of carefully edited lists of technical terms in chemistry, botany, and other subjects, pending the preparation of suitable books.

As the question of vernacular text-books must for generations remain of importance, I may recall, to the credit of those concerned, the terms in which the Principal of the Normal School in 1881 reported on his work :

“It has been my desire to identify the Normal School with the publication of reputable Sinhalese school books, which are urgently required, and I hope that the Normal Schoolmasters and old Normal students will devote some part of their spare time assisting in the matter. My ‘School Management for Pupil Teachers,’ arranged according to the requirements of the new Code, is partly published, and the remainder nearly ready. The Primer of Botany has been ready for the press some time, and I hope that my ‘Notes of Lessons for Vernacular Teachers,’ which is now being printed, will be found of great service. Mr. Johannes has a Physical Geography in Sinhalese in hand which he hopes to offer to the Department, and Mr. J. P. P. Samarasekera has published a useful little work on Mental Arithmetic. Mr. H. D. Lewis is engaged on a

Geography book, which is urgently needed, and Mr. A. Senaratna is preparing an advanced Arithmetic. Mr. D. Gabriel has already prepared First and Second vernacular reading books, and I hope, with the assistance of the Normal School Assistants, to be able to offer to the Department at no very distant date, a complete set of good Sinhalese reading books, consisting of original and interesting matter, prepared on the English plan."

The publication of vernacular school books had from the first engaged my attention, and was intimately connected with another question having a direct bearing on the success of the vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools,—the question of requiring the inspectors to possess a competent knowledge of at least one vernacular language. While engaged in re-organising the inspecting agency, I submitted my views to Government in the following terms :

"There are two other points touching the duties of Inspectors to which I wish to allude. It ought I think to be a part of those duties to superintend the preparation of school-books adapted to our needs. In the domain of school publications—reading books, arithmetic books, maps, grammars, exercise-books, dictionaries—there is a great and almost untouched field before us. In view of this pressing necessity, and none the less that it is felt in the ordinary duties of school inspection and visitation, I am of opinion that Inspectors ought to have a sound knowledge of at least one of the vernacular languages of Ceylon."

There is perhaps no educational question of

greater importance to our tropical empire, alike in India and in the Crown colonies, than the creation of a modern vernacular literature. In India the number of literates in English amounts to only one per cent. of the population, and in Africa the percentage is even smaller. It is evident that to many millions of the King's oversea subjects access to knowledge of the modern world is possible only through oral communication or vernacular literature. My encouragement of Sinhalese literature was not, therefore, limited to the preparation of school-books. It aimed to enrich the existing vernacular literature by translations of European books, or by the original compositions of men whose minds were imbued with the spirit of European advancement, so that European knowledge might gradually be placed through the vernacular within reach of all classes of the people. I am glad to learn from the Ceylon Administration Reports that there has never been any interruption or reversal of my policy in this direction. In 1907 one of the earlier Sinhalese books published by the Department had reached an issue of over 200,000, while upwards of 57,000 copies of a Sanitary Primer had been sold.

This digression has led me away from the main line of direction in the re-organisation of the Normal School. Experience had shown that the success of the schools, which it was the business of the Normal School to supply with teachers depended, especially in all the country districts, on the social position and local influence of the teacher. This will easily be understood from what has already been said on the subject of the schools of the Central Province. The

appointment of a teacher in a Colombo Normal School, without the necessary local qualification to complete his educational equipment, was found to be followed by almost certain failure.

My own observations and the experience of the Government agents struck me so forcibly that at a very early period of my administration I suggested that it might be advisable to convert an Anglo-vernacular Government School in Kandy into a Normal School for the training of Kandyan teachers. In making this suggestion, I assigned my reasons in terms which I recall with pleasure as an expression of my desire to engage the interest of what I have called the native agency in the education of the community. I said :

“It has been found that low-country Sinhalese trained at the Colombo Normal School, however superior their training and capacity, have been utterly useless in the Kandyan districts ; they are never comfortable, often suffer from the climate, and with difficulty acquire the personal, or social influence upon which a good attendance in Kandyan schools largely depends. Except in the town of Kandy, missionary enterprise has not been largely successful in the Central Province, where the most effective influence is the pressure of the Government Agent and his Assistants upon the local authorities. To this pressure, judiciously exercised, the province is gradually yielding, and the Government schools, built and supported by the village tribunals and headmen, are beginning to be really *national* schools. There are signs that before many years the pressure of Government will no longer be necessary, and that

the stability of these schools will be guaranteed by a spontaneous *national* interest in the education of the community, not unaided perhaps by those personal motives, which may appear selfish, but which history shows to have exercised an important influence in the greatest, and even the most beneficent operations of humanity."

For the time every effort was made to adjust the conditions of entrance to the Colombo Normal School with a view to secure the admission of teachers appropriate to the requirements and environment of the different provinces, and to adapt the range of studies to the requirements of the new Code; but in 1883 my suggestion was carried out, and three Government training schools were opened experimentally in three provinces, at Kandy, at Bentota, and at Udugampola. This measure was accompanied by the closing of the English department of the Normal School, for reasons which will be explained.

The circumstances and the consequences of the new arrangement, which was adopted in 1886, were in 1898 concisely narrated by the Department, and form an interesting episode in the history of Public Instruction in Ceylon.

It was found that provision could not be efficiently made to meet the peculiar conditions of the highland, or, as they are locally termed, up-country districts of the island, between the inhabitants of which and those of the lowland districts marked differences in customs and character obtain. Kandyans, as this highland population is usually termed, show a marked aversion to residence on the

sea-board. Similarly, low-country Sinhalese dislike work in Kandyan districts. As a result of this, the number of Kandyan recruits that could be beaten up for the charge of Kandyan schools always fell considerably below requirements, and the schools had in consequence to be officered largely by low-country teachers. Estranged from their country and their relations, these men failed to interest themselves permanently in their new sphere of labour, and failed, therefore, to make themselves acceptable to the people and to maintain well-attended schools. Although separated by no physical barrier and identical in customs and character with the people of the Western Province, young men from the Southern Province, too, could not be induced to join the Normal School at Colombo. To ensure the first element in a vernacular teacher's success,—local influence—the Colombo vernacular training school was closed and three other schools, on a smaller scale, located in three separate provinces, were started in 1886. The best of the native teachers turned out of the old English Normal School were selected and placed in charge of these new schools. The period of training was reduced to two years, and the course of instruction made somewhat more elementary than before; admission to them is open to pupil teachers and students of Government vernacular schools. These are the arrangements now in force for the training of teachers for Government vernacular schools, with the only difference that the training school in the Southern Province has been closed, as with the rapid extension of aided schools, especially

in the maritime districts, only a small number of trained teachers for Government vernacular schools is required in these districts.

In 1903, however, the earlier policy was reverted to, a Government training school with English, Anglo-vernacular, and vernacular classes was established in Colombo, and has become the central force of a system including the grant-in-aid training schools, the origin of which I must now explain.

I have said that the provisions of the Code which contemplated the eventual employment of trained and certificated teachers only was opposed by some of the Christian agencies. Naturally, they desired to have the future teachers of their schools educated in an environment dominated by their own influence, and I found that a reasonable solution of the difficulty, entirely in accordance with my own views, had already been suggested by the Roman Catholic Bishop Bonjean, Vicar-General of the Northern Vicariate, in the following terms :

“As to the cause of the inefficiency of the teachers in the employment of the School Commission, I suppose it must be that they have neither been systematically taught themselves, nor have had any preparatory professional training. . . . I do not know to what extent Government would be able to train teachers on principles acceptable to other denominations. But of this I am quite sure, that they are not fit to train Catholic teachers. They would be sure to train them either on the Protestant, or the non-religious principle, and neither can suit us. But if in addition to grants for our Catholic schools, they were to make also adequate provision to en-

able us to train our own teachers in our own way, I shall have nothing to say against a Normal School for the benefit of those whom it suited. We should in that case get our teachers trained at home or here, as might seem more convenient to us. In the scheme proposed by me each denomination would of course train its own teachers."

Accordingly the Code provided for the gradual introduction of certificated teachers into all schools aided by Government through two agencies, a pupil-teacher system and training schools or colleges under the direct control of the managers. At the same time provision was made for what are usually called vested rights, and ten years were allowed for the full development of the plan. The pupil-teacher system was based on the arrangements already carried out in Government schools, and provided for an annually progressive bonus to be paid to managers for the training of teachers. The method of assistance to training schools was an assimilation to local circumstances of the English system by means of Queen's scholarships. It provided for the support of students in training by a payment for each student who completed a two years' course with credit, but the number of Queen's scholarships to be competed for annually was for the time limited to five per cent. on the number of vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools. The same limitation applied to the number of Queen's scholarships for girls. The system of granting aid to training schools by the method of these scholarships was suggested to me by the Rev. Mr. Brown, the head of the Wesleyan Mission in Jaffna, so that

I had the satisfaction of carrying out a scheme suggested by a Roman Catholic prelate by methods suggested by the leader of a great Protestant agency. At the first examination held under the new scheme, six training schools conducted by American, Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan Missions, presented candidates, and I was able to report that all these schools seemed perfectly able to meet the requirements of the Department so far as the standard of attainment demanded was concerned, although they had not all reached the same stage of advance. It was not long before nearly every missionary body at all largely engaged in educational work was maintaining its own training school. With such modifications and improvements as experience has suggested, I believe that this system of aided training schools and colleges has been of every advantage to the colony ; and I gather from an account of the system of education in Ceylon, published in 1898, that with some exceptions for cause assigned, my desire that within ten years all Government and aided vernacular schools should be in charge of certificated teachers was realised.

I have now indicated the main lines of an educational scheme designed to lead from the village school to the highest range of study within the resources of the colony, and linked to the universities of the United Kingdom. But I have always held it to be a cardinal principle of the requirements of our Crown colonies that primary education must be regarded as the instruction of the masses of the

people in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life, and not necessarily as a stage of instruction leading up to the university. It was my desire, therefore, to incorporate a scheme of industrial instruction into the general system of common school education.

In an agricultural colony agricultural education naturally suggests itself as of the first importance. About eighty-eight per cent. of the population of Ceylon is rural, and the technical and industrial education really required is such as will fit them for an agricultural life. I was not unmindful of this, as may be seen by many references in my Administration Reports, but want of text-books and want of funds, a subject to which I shall revert, prevented me from adding to my educational system a scheme of agricultural education. However, the work was taken up by my successor, Mr. H. W. Green, who himself prepared a primer on the subject. When Sir Arthur Gordon (now Lord Stanmore) was Governor, Mr. Green established a school for instruction in agriculture, botany, chemistry, veterinary science, and book-keeping. The scheme worked well for many years, but in 1898 it was made the subject of inquiry by Commission as it did not attract a sufficient number nor the proper class of students. It was hoped to re-organise it on lines that would give more scope for developing the practical side of agricultural education, better means of reaching the agricultural population and like measures, but I gather that the school has been abandoned, as no mention is made of it in recent reports. They

show, however, that the Government has sought to attain the object of the school by other means. Instruction in theoretical agriculture is given from Mr. Green's primer in all Government schools above the fifth standard, and the teachers of these schools are desired to make use of the plots of ground attached to their schools for purposes of ornamental gardening. The School Gardens Scheme, as it is called, has three distinct objects: to give the boys a taste for gardening, and some knowledge of the proper method of setting to work; to encourage the study of nature as an essential part of school education; and to familiarise the rural population with useful products not grown so extensively as they should be. Through the agency of the Botanical Gardens, and from other sources, the exotic seeds supplied for the use of these gardens include contributions from India, Australia, and other parts of the Empire, and are of infinite variety. In 1907 no less than 134 gardens were associated in the scheme, which seems to be admirably adapted to the requirements of the Crown colonies generally.

During my tenure of office in Ceylon the question of industrial education gave me no little anxiety. Industrial schools supported by Government in the western, southern, and central provinces did not work satisfactorily. In order to promote manual instruction, my code for aided schools included a scheme of grants, in anticipation of a more elaborate system I had in preparation. These grants were payable on the condition (1) that the school shall

teach a trade approved by the Department ; (2) that the workshops must be sufficiently provided with appliances for elementary instruction in the trade or trades to which the school was devoted ; and (3) that the master of the workshop must be duly qualified to teach his trade.

As in the case of agricultural education, want of funds before my departure from the colony prevented me from carrying out a comprehensive scheme I contemplated, but my temporary scheme served to assist a number of schools managed by mission agency for instruction in carpentry, bookbinding, shoemaking, tailoring, and smith's work in boys' industrial schools, and in lacemaking, dressmaking, embroidery, and cookery in girls' schools. The scheme I contemplated had a different range, and as after a lapse of thirty years I still think that it meets requirements in Ceylon and in practically all our Crown colonies, I have no hesitation in reproducing it with the general remarks with which it was submitted for the consideration of Government.

" In the great educational movement of our time nothing has appeared so easy and been found so difficult as the education of manual labour. The old apprentice system has been generally rejected, and nothing has been found to take its place. When an apprentice was bound to a master for a term of years, it was understood that for the first years of the term the boy would be boarded, clothed, and taught at the expense of the master, while during the last years of the term he was to spend his time in labour which would remunerate the master. Now in any kind of voluntary industrial boarding school what

happens is this : As soon as a boy has picked up enough knowledge and skill in any trade to earn a living, he takes himself off to work on his own account. Consequently, industrial schools are charged with all the expense of a boy as long as he is incapable of producing marketable work, but they get no return when he has acquired sufficient skill to make his labour remunerative. Elementary mechanical schools are only possible with very simple trades, and the articles produced by the boys who are learning the trades are of insignificant value. Suppose, for instance, that watchmaking were to be taught in such a school, the education would be expensive and the produce unmarketable.

“ This is the great difficulty in which we are placed by what has been aptly described as ‘ the existing constitutional aversion of the race to being bound to anybody to do anything,’ while at the same time there is an ever-growing demand that the elements of manual instruction should be incorporated into the system of common school education.

“ There exists in Boston, Massachusetts, an industrial school association, which has undertaken a course of instruction in the use of the common wood-working hand tools necessary to the trades of the carpenter, the joiner, the shipbuilder, and the cabinetmaker. A series of primary lessons has been drawn up, and they are undergoing a test of actual use in the school. The school-shop is provided with work-benches, allowing to each boy a space for his work four feet in length and two and a half in width. Each bench is furnished with a vise

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with common wooden jaws and an iron screw, and a drawer with lock and key, in which the tools are kept.

“The first eleven of the primary lessons cover the following points in the use of elementary tools :

1. Cross-cut saw—sawing to line.
2. Hammer—striking square blows.
3. Splitting saw—sawing to line.
4. Jack plane—smoothing rough surfaces.
5. Hammer—driving nails vertically.
6. Splitting saw—sawing at exact angles to upper surface.
7. Jack plane—setting the plane-iron.
8. Hammer—driving nails horizontally.
9. Bit and brace—boring in exact positions.
10. Mallet and chisel—mortising.
11. Jack plane—producing surfaces which intersect at exact angles.

“Each lesson includes the analysis of every movement made in these processes. The first lesson, for instance, analyses the apparently simple process of sawing to line into measuring, placing of trestles and board, lining with try square, holding saw, placing saw, drawing strokes, pushing strokes, finishing, with all auxiliary matter, such as watching the saw, pressure, and correction of deviation.

“A very notable part of the system I am describing is an ingenious scheme for determining the progress and success of the pupils. In the analysis of every description of work, certain points are established which determine the several qualities of the student's execution, and these points are posted, that the

scholar may know what excellence he is to work up to. For example, in iron work the course includes: (1), vise-work; (2), forging; (3), foundry-work; (4), machine-tool-work. In vise-work the first piece of work given the class is a rectangular piece of cast iron, which is to be filed into line. Each scholar has for use a ten-inch bastard file, a ten-inch hand second-cut file, an eight-inch hand smooth file, and a four and a half inch try square. The design of the task is to teach the use of the three large coarse flat files only; and at the same time not only the use of these tools is taught, but the utmost care and accuracy of finish are required: the excellence of the work is in its precision. The inspection of the work is based on this analysis:

				<i>Marks.</i>
Point No. 1.	Filed to line on one side -	-	-	20
„ 2.	Filed to line on other side -	-	-	20
„ 3.	Filed straight lengthwise -	-	-	20
„ 4.	Filed straight crosswise -	-	-	20
„ 5.	No cross marks -	-	-	20
				<hr/>
				100

“This is the first step in a series of work-lessons. When the scholar has had fifteen lessons extending over five weeks he has passed from filing to line to templet-work, sawing and filing to free-hand filing, and has reached the fourth general division, that of fitting. Here he has a piece given him which will occupy him a week—three lessons of four hours each. Finally, the last exercise in the course, requiring five hours, is to make a screw from steel wire, and the tools given him are a

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hand-vise and calipers and five files. The analysis is made up of six points :

				<i>Marks.</i>
Point No. 1.	Threads equal distance apart	-	-	30
„ 2.	Threads of equal depth	-	-	30
„ 3.	Point in centre	-	-	10
„ 4.	Thread not to lean either way	-	-	20
„ 5.	Sides of thread straight levelled	-	-	5
„ 6.	No bunches or grooves	-	-	5
				<hr/>
				100

“In the selection of pieces of work regard is paid to a regular progression in elaborateness, each process built upon the previous series, and at the close the scholar has to show twenty-two pieces of work. He knows the use and power of twenty-nine different tools of fundamental value, and by these analyses he has been steadily and scientifically trained in the perfection of parts and in the relative value of all the processes of his work. The same principles of a progressive series and an analytical inspection may be carried out in every description of work, and by this means there is a concentration of educative force just where it is most required in the mechanic arts, training the eye and the brain and the hand at one and the same time to patient, intelligent, economical, and skilful labour.

“Such is an outline of the system which I hope to see introduced into Ceylon. I should have been glad to include in this report a cut and dried scheme ready to be put into execution at once, but I have not had time nor have I at present sufficient knowledge of the details of the system to prepare the necessary estimate of expenditure. In order to

carry out my proposals, it will, I am sure, be necessary either to secure for a time at least the services of a person who has a practical knowledge of the working of the system, or to send a person to America to learn it. A very small part of the money which has been spent in unmethodic, unscientific schemes would have sufficed to cover this expenditure, which I do not think the colony will grudge."

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Unfortunately, before my scheme could be carried out, a decision of the Colonial Office to the effect that the expenditure on my Department had reached the limits of finality was fatal to it.

I hardly think that the measures for the promotion of technical instruction, on a higher plane, brought into operation by the Government since this plan was suggested, important as they undoubtedly are, satisfy the requirements my proposal was intended to meet. The principal measure adopted by the Government has been the establishment of an institution styled the Technical College, the object and working of which are thus officially described.

"Under the appellation of the 'Ceylon Technical College,' an institution has been started at the public expense in the metropolis, and is worked on a syllabus avowedly designed to substitute for the more costly agency imported from England for the Railway, Survey, and the Public Works Department of the Colony, the less expensive skilled labour of the country. Classes in telegraphy and telephony are added to the curriculum to provide for vacancies in the Telegraph and Telephone Branches of the

Postal Department. The Government Technical College may therefore fairly be called a Government Engineering College. And though it may at first be limited to supplying the needs to which it owes its establishment, yet it is hoped that as time goes on it may find a wider sphere of appreciation, and that those who have shown skill and promise in local factories and workshops may be attracted to it for advanced instruction. Obviously, all the students of this college cannot make sure of employment under Government on the successful completion of their course. But for the special kind of instruction they have come under, the large number of mills and factories in the Island cannot fail to find profitable and remunerative scope for its exercise for at least some time to come. Looked at from this point of view, a vista of future usefulness opens up for this newly-created college, which justifies the foresight that decreed the organisation of the institution on its present lines. Admitted that the industries are absent for the development of which technological instruction of a more comprehensive kind would have had to be undertaken, the departure that has been in the meantime decided upon seems for the present at least to be the most practicable means of advancing technical instruction in the country."

The Technical College now includes classes in chemistry for students of the Medical College, and for the examination in chemistry and physics of the London University Examination, and in 1907 a new department in commercial education was opened. The institution appears in every way to justify the hopes of future usefulness entertained twelve years

ago, and may well serve as a model for imitation in other Crown colonies.

I have referred to the want of funds for carrying out some plans I contemplated, and this brings me to the important question of finance. In 1882 a despatch was received from the Secretary of State limiting the educational expenditure of Ceylon to a maximum of 500,000 rupees, an amount which it had nearly reached. In replying to this despatch, I recorded that the policy of the Department had been for some years based upon the expectation of a moderate annual increase in the expenditure on education, until, in the words of Sir William Gregory's address to the Legislative Council in 1873, "vernacular education should be brought within reach of every native community large enough to support a school." I then pointed out that the limitation of expenditure would require a readjustment of the amounts voted for English education, and I proposed a scheme for handing over Government English schools to Municipalities or local government Boards, in towns where such institutions existed, on the condition that Government should pay the same grant to these schools as it would to an ordinary aided school, while the Municipality or Board should find the balance of the funds required for their maintenance. I advised that the funds thus set free should "be reserved for the extension of vernacular education in those parts of the island least favoured by the existing distribution," and I especially urged that a portion of the available funds should go towards agricultural and technical training. Unfortunately, owing to the financial exigencies of the colony at

the time, the proposed measure came to be treated simply as one of retrenchment, without the simultaneous extension of vernacular, including agricultural and technical education for which I had proposed the retrenchment on English expenditure. This was after my departure from the colony; had I remained in my office I should certainly have offered some resistance.

The result of my proposals was that, in 1884, by special legislative enactment the Central Government was relieved of the responsibility of maintaining English schools in Municipalities and towns with local government Boards, on the terms I had proposed. For this purpose an educational rate in Municipalities was included in the enactment. This, however, had to be abandoned, as it did not prove acceptable, and the schools were ultimately handed over to the already existing Mission agencies willing to accept them. The Government, however, did not relinquish its unsectarian policy, and no grant was paid except for secular instruction. The responsibility of the Department for the entire maintenance of schools was thus narrowed to those teaching the vernacular of the masses and to half a dozen Anglo-vernacular or bilingual schools in the more important villages. The provision of English education in towns was left to private enterprise.

My narrative would be seriously defective were I to omit specific reference to the place of the native agency which at the outset I described as one of the three dimensions in the educational system

of Ceylon. I have described generally the influence of the native headmen in the extension of schools in the rural districts, and I may add a few words as to their influence and authority in enforcing school attendance. Their position in 1898 was thus described by the Department :

“ In the various rural subdivisions of the several revenue districts of the Colony, rules making attendance at school compulsory are in force under the law which regulates the working of village communities; but such compulsion in respect of attendance at schools as these rules enforce affects only the vernacular schools entirely managed and maintained by the Department. No aided school, that is, a voluntary school receiving aid from Government—can claim the application of this rule in its favour.

“ One result of this feature of such local administration of education as is undertaken by these village communities is, that departmental schools still continue to be the means of ensuring the instruction of the masses in the remoter and more inland districts in particular.

“ Speaking generally, the machinery by which these village committees enforce their rule of compulsory attendance is simple. The village schoolmaster submits his list of absentees, weekly or monthly as the local rule may require, to the village headman, whose duty it is, under the rule, to secure the appearance of the parents of the defaulting children at the communal court, to be fined or otherwise dealt with there according to the discretion of the President of the Village Tribunal.”

Their status has since been more precisely regulated by the Rural Schools Ordinance, 1907, the principal provisions of which have been already indicated.

In the area of free enterprise aided by Government grants, the native agency has not been idle. In 1898 the Department recorded that perhaps the most encouraging feature in the extension of education in the country was the part taken by indigenous private enterprise in the establishment of schools.

The Theosophist movement, started about 1882, led to the formation of a Buddhist society, having for its object the establishment of Buddhist schools for Buddhist children, and in ten years' time sixty-three such schools were registered as grant-in-aid schools. By 1898 no less than 103 schools were working, some under the management of priests, others under the management of wealthy laymen, all well attended and many admirably housed. In 1907 the number of English, Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools managed by the Buddhist Society amounted to 178. I may add that a lay member representing Buddhist interests has a seat on an advisory Board of Education formed in 1896 to advise the Director on questions connected with the working of voluntary schools receiving aid from public funds.

On the whole it may justly be said that the native agency is taking an honourable place in the Ceylon educational system of three dimensions.

At the close of the year 1882 my tenure of office as Director of Public Instruction came to an end,

and with it my direct connection with the education department of the colonial service. It was a period of strenuous work, recognised by a special mark of the Sovereign's favour, and I hope there was at least some justice in the words of the Governor, Sir James Longden, speaking at a College ceremony, a few days before I left Ceylon :

"I remember that three years ago, . . . a native gentleman, himself of very great attainments, almost deplored that the education given in Ceylon schools was not wide enough, that so much of the time of the pupils was given to classics and so little to what is called the modern side, or natural science. I think if Sir Coomara Swamy could have listened to the report which was read just now by the Principal, and could have seen the distinctions that have been won by the students of this College in other subjects besides classics, he would have been satisfied. If he could have witnessed the thoroughness of instruction given in chemistry, natural science, and the other sciences, side by side with classical training, he would have been satisfied. . . .

"In the administration of his department,—a department which is second to none in real importance to the Colony—Mr. Bruce has ever shown that his single desire was to bring the best kind of education home to the mass of the people—to all the children of Ceylon. He took equal interest in the humblest vernacular school and in this College, and throughout all his able and impartial management of the Department entrusted to him, his single aim was to bring the blessings of education to every child in the place, and to those

who could afford it a higher education to enable them to make their way in the world,—each according to his own mode of life, and according to his creed, with the advantage which education gives to every man and boy. That work has been carried on by Mr. Bruce for nearly four years now, and I venture to say that the work will not be forgotten,—like all good work that will endure—and, though he goes away himself, the Colony will still benefit by the results of that work.”

I may add that in 1908 the educational system I established in Ceylon showed its results in 2,430 schools with 260,915 scholars. Of these 648 were Government schools with 80,986 scholars, and 1,782 were aided schools with 179,929 scholars. About seven per cent. of the entire population were at school.

My transfer from the educational to the executive branch of the colonial service did not diminish my interest in the work of public instruction. In 1883, as Acting Governor of Mauritius, I prepared a Memorandum on the educational system of the colony, based chiefly on my experience in Ceylon. I dealt mainly with the extension of the grant-in-aid system and of vernacular teaching for the children of Indian immigrants. On both points my views were approved by the Secretary of State, and continued, I believe, to influence the local Government until my return to the colony as Governor in 1897.

THE WEST INDIES

In the meantime, I had ample opportunity in my offices of Lieutenant-Governor of British Guiana

and Governor of the Windward Islands to promote the cause of public instruction. When administering the Government of British Guiana, in 1888, I drafted a revised Code which amounted to a complete reorganisation of the educational system. It included a scheme for schools in sparsely populated districts analogous to the scheme I had introduced in Ceylon; and a scheme for encouraging managers to give instruction in agriculture and in trades.

In order that the Code might be carried out in the spirit in which it had been drafted, I advised, and was fortunate enough to secure the appointment, as head of the Education Department, of Mr. William Blair, who had been associated with me in Ceylon as inspector, and who had been appointed to act as Director of Public Instruction when I left the colony.

In Grenada I re-organised the Education Department in 1895 by an Ordinance to consolidate and amend the law relating to primary education, and in the following year drafted and passed a Code of regulations for carrying out its provisions. It was a work that called for much patience and forbearance, and I shall ever remember with gratitude the support I received in this, as indeed in all other matters affecting the interests of the Windward Islands from Archbishop Flood, of Trinidad. It was the aim of the Code to adapt to the circumstances of the little island the principles that had guided me throughout my colonial career.

In St. Lucia and St. Vincent my educational activity was limited to controlling in the same

spirit the operation of the laws and regulations affecting education passed under my predecessor, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson. The St. Vincent Ordinance of 1893, drafted by the Attorney-General, Mr. Oliver Smith, afterwards a Puisne judge of the Supreme Court in Mauritius, was a valuable enactment.

In 1897 I returned to Mauritius as Governor, and was able to close my long official career by carrying to their logical conclusion, as described in an earlier chapter, the educational principles I had advocated at its commencement.

CHAPTER XVII

RELIGION

I

SIR CHARLES LUCAS, in a chapter on the motives of colonisation in his *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, has illustrated the motive power of religion in the three principal phases of colonisation,—exploration, conquest, and settlement. To promote Christianity Prince Henry the Navigator sent out the fleets which found the way to Asia, Columbus embarked on the voyage which led to the discovery of the West Indies and America, and in our own time Livingstone explored new fields for missionary enterprise in Africa. The records of Christian crusades and Mahommedan invasions have shown that the operations of conquest have never been carried out with such terrible severity as when undertaken in the name of religion. In the matter of settlement religion has been the most potent of factors in prompting men to leave their homes, not so much to escape persecution, as rather to find an environment in which they could secure the supremacy of their own religious convictions. Looking impartially at the net results of the

influence of religion in the establishment and maintenance of the British Empire, we find that it has produced two distinct and almost opposite effects ; it has served both as a separating force and as a connecting link. And I am led to this conclusion, that when religion has been successful in dominating, and using to its own ends, the supreme secular authority, it has proved a separating force ; when it has kept itself aloof from all endeavour to usurp the functions of secular authority, satisfied with complete freedom of exercise in the domain of spiritual influence, it has proved a connecting link of irresistible strength. I believe that the history of Canada illustrates the soundness of this conclusion in America ; I hope it may hereafter be confirmed in Africa ; I know that in Asia and in all the territories included in our Crown colonies it has been the faith of the Victorian era. The self-governing colonies lie outside the scope of my work, and I confine myself to a few words on our Indian Empire and to the area of my personal experience in the Crown colonies. As in them, so in India, the Christian churches stand to the community in two relations separated by a broad line of demarcation. To the Christian community they appeal as an accepted and acknowledged influence ; the non-Christian community they challenge as a missionary enterprise opposed to national prejudices deeply ingrained into religious convictions. I will speak first of the missionary enterprise of the Christian churches.

II

I will not dwell on the period during which the mission of Christian Europe was held to be to bring the natives of Africa, Asia, and America within the pale of the visible Church on any terms; not to advance him in civilisation but to tame him to the utmost possible docility. During this period the Church overleaped the tedious difficulties of conversion, and received whole tribes as proselytes in a single day. But in the case of the proselytes, the Church exhibited a jealous dislike to the enlightenment of the nation by secular instruction or to the improvement of their physical condition. Obedience or death was the policy of the period, prosecuted with such severity that it came to be asserted that when the Christians were brought into contact with savages, the Christians became savages instead of the savages becoming Christians.

I pass on to the time when the policy of conversion by force had yielded to the policy of conversion by reason, by enlightenment, by instruction in the arts and sciences of Christian civilisation. In 1836 Lord Macaulay, the great advocate of conversion by study of the language, laws, and literature of England, wrote to his father: "The effect of this education on the Hindus is prodigious. No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves pure Deists, and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a

single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence."

In an official Minute written by Macaulay in the previous year (February 2nd, 1835) and submitted to the Supreme Council, he had enforced his view by ridiculing the history, geography, astronomy, and science of the sacred books of the Hindus.

It is curious now to note that at the very time when Macaulay was advocating the cause of Christianity by this argument, Darwin was forming an opinion hostile to it. He wrote in his autobiography: "I had gradually come by this time, *i.e.* 1835 to 1839—to see that the Old Testament was no more to be trusted than the sacred books of the Hindus." An Indian gentleman, P. Vencata Rao, brought up in a missionary school, long resident in England, and acquainted by travel and study with the continent of Europe, has recently, in *The Fortnightly Review*, stated the reasons why he is not a Christian, but remains a Hindu. His reasons may be briefly summed up. His first reason is the incredibility of the Old Testament narrative, in respect of which he has come to the same conclusion as Darwin; his second the incredibility of the New Testament in its narrative; his third the incredibility of the creed founded on the Old and New Testament in respect of its fundamental dogmas and confessions of faith; his fourth, the incompatibility of social customs declared to be essentials of Christian civilisation with the social customs adapted to the nature and environment of the people of India by the process of ages. If we add to these reasons the net result of the profession and doctrine of Christianity for

nearly two thousand years in the national and social life of Christendom, we shall have no reason to wonder at the failure of Macaulay's educational system as an engine for the conversion of the people of India. While I willingly accept the declaration of Lord Lawrence, and of other hardly less distinguished administrators, that Christianity has done more for India than all other agencies combined, it is impossible to deny that it has been a separating force as well as a connecting link. The principles of Macaulay's educational system, carried into the domain of Hindu and Mahommedan law, were a contributory cause of the Mutiny. And now, after years of an educational system carried on in strict observance of the principles of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, while missionary enterprise still declares its belief that in conversion to Christianity will be found the ultimate bond of union, recent statistics published by the Government of India show that the population includes only '81 per cent. of Christians, with only one per cent. of the adult male population literate in English, the standard of literacy being ability to read and write it. Sir Harry Johnston, who may be taken as the representative of a considerable body of opinion, has recently declared his conviction that, "The missionaries of the Protestant Churches are at the bottom of the present 'native' unrest in India and Africa, just as they were to a certain extent at the bottom of what was called 'negro unrest' in the West Indies during the beginning and middle of the nineteenth century, an unrest which it was prophesied (falsely) would lead to the extirpation of the whites in that part of

tropical America and to the creation of numerous imitations of Haiti out of the British West Indies."

I will only express a hope that the future will vindicate missionary enterprise in India, as the present has vindicated its past activity in the West Indies.

I have already dealt pretty fully with the services rendered by the Christian Churches as agents of secular instruction, and it is hardly necessary to point out that the value of their services has been in exact proportion to the influence they have acquired by other methods appropriate to their mission work. Generally speaking, the methods come under the two heads of preaching and practice. In the paper of a missionary of long experience read at a conference in Calcutta in the year 1876, it was stated that, "In the judgment of the great majority of Christians, direct preaching to heathen assemblies is the chief plan by which missions can be carried out," adding that, while this method of spreading the truth is almost exclusively employed by some societies, it receives little or no attention from others, and by some is even disparaged. Allied to preaching is the generally adopted method of influence by the publication of vernacular literature. But so far as my experience goes, if we accept the test that men believe a thing when they act as if it were true, permanent influence can only be gained by the methods that come under the head of practice. These methods, again, may be classed as two,—the practice of a profession or trade, and the habit of life. Men are not easily content with the prospect

of a happiness which they cannot now understand, and are not sure that they will ever enjoy, even when it is presented to them with the alternative of eternal suffering. The Catholic Church of the Middle Ages comprehended this, and to the motive of future happiness they added, as we have seen, the incentive of immediate and substantial good, a cradle for childhood, a career for manhood, an asylum for infirmity and old age, with the alternative of the immediate tortures of the criminal law.

It is generally accepted as a truism that superstition is the greatest foe of religion, and consequently of missionary enterprise. Let me, then, explain the principles by which I conceive that, to overcome the foe, all missionary enterprise should be guided, and the logical, because natural, order in which they should be acted on, following seven stages in the life of man.

The first requirement of every child that is born into the world is the care of its physical health ; the next a material home, be it a hut or a palace ; the next the means of earning a living.

These three stages are stages of individual development ; the next three are stages of social development. In these the man is concerned with three stages of duty to his neighbour, his duty to his family, his duty to his country, and his duty to the constitutional authorities. There remains the seventh stage, in which man is concerned with the supreme end to which his life has been a means,—the mysteries of the relation of the natural to the supernatural world ; in brief, his duty to God. In this order I proceed from the lesser to the greater,

from the known to the unknown, from considerations of the positive present to considerations of the possible future, from the phenomena of nature to their cause. By procedure in this order I conceive that missionary enterprise will best overcome superstition by religion.

Missionary enterprise conducted on these lines must, of course, provide appropriate educational agencies, which may be grouped as technical, political, and religious, appropriately co-ordinated,—technical education secular, political education secular but based on religious principles, religious education—all that the term implies.

Let us, then, see how my theory has worked out in practice in what I conceive to be the most successful missionary enterprise of the Victorian era, that of the London Missionary Society and allied Protestant societies in Madagascar. It was an enterprise with which I was brought into frequent and close association during my many years of residence in Mauritius, during the greater part of which period there was an intimate connection between church work in Mauritius and mission work in Madagascar.

The first promoters of mission work in Madagascar were treated as visionary counsellors. In a recent handbook of the London Missionary Society Mr. Sibree reminds us that it was said to them: "Teach the Malagasy! You may as well try to teach the monkeys in their forests!" The early days of the Mission were disastrous. The first pioneers, Mr. David Jones and Mr. Bevan, each with a wife and child, landed in November, 1818, and January, 1819.

Within a few weeks they were all attacked with malarial fever, and before the end of January they were all dead except Mr. Jones. But the experience had its use in making medicine the first auxiliary of religion in the enterprise. The next auxiliary was found in education, and the first result of technical training in the schools was the construction of a printing press. It had always been the custom of the Society to attach to its missions in different parts of the world Christian workmen to teach uncultured people some of the arts of civilisation. Three or four of the first artisans sent to Madagascar died of fever, but others lived to instruct the Malagasy in carpentry, masonry, brick-making, building, blacksmith's work, tanning, and leather dressing, as well as in printing and book-binding. These artisans were the precursors and teachers in their turn of a large body of native workmen who were to carry on the arts of civilised life in the country. But this branch of mission work was not confined to the training of artisans in skilled labour. Under the superintendence of missionaries with a competent knowledge of engineering and chemistry, limestone, slates, and other minerals were discovered, and a canal, reservoirs, and water-mills were built. The uses of carbonates, nitrates, and sulphates in various industries and in medicine were taught. Among the earliest manufactories established was one for the making of soap from native materials, and the Society attributes to this manufacture a particular share in enabling the mission to survive a long period of adversity that was to follow. For, in the meantime, the work

had excited suspicion that the ultimate motive was to destroy the national superstitions inseparably connected in the minds of the people, and, above all, in the mind of the reigning sovereign, with national loyalty. In 1836 there commenced a series of persecutions that were to extend over a period of five-and-twenty years, the narrative of which has become a part of the modern history of Christianity. What I desire to point out is that throughout the whole period, and especially towards the close, when the country seemed likely to relapse into barbarism, the work of the secular side of the mission remained a material evidence of benefits the more gratefully appreciated in proportion as they seemed likely to perish.

At the same time, the education of the native had given him the intelligence to associate the material benefits received with the life and motives of the missionaries who had conferred them.

In 1862 the London Missionary Society was allowed to resume its work, and among the first of the group who resumed it was a qualified doctor. In the following year the building of a hospital was commenced at the capital. In quick succession, dispensaries were established at distant places, a school for training native doctors and nurses was opened, works in Malagasy on pharmacy, therapeutics, and midwifery were published. All this was the work of Dr. Andrew Davidson, for some years a medical officer in the service of the Government of Mauritius, afterwards distinguished as a pioneer in the study of tropical diseases at the University of Edinburgh. In later years, a

Medical Missionary Academy was established conferring diplomas with standards of examination that secured an ample guarantee of the qualifications of those who received them.

Simultaneously, in 1863, the work of the mission in the departments of architecture, mechanical engineering, and chemistry was resumed. The erection of stately churches as memorials of the native martyrs, gave a stimulus to the desire of the people for superior public buildings and private residences, as well as for the development of the natural resources of the country. These desires were satisfied by an organised system of education, embracing practically all the subjects of professional and industrial training included in the curriculum of what we call the modern side of schools and colleges, and in the distinctive teaching of modern universities. There followed a demand for social and political institutions appropriate to the civilisation accepted, and a grateful recognition of the agency by which it had been introduced. The intelligence of the country placed itself at the head of the movement in favour of Christianity. In 1869 the first Christian sovereign of Madagascar, Queen Ranavalona the Second, was baptised.

The period that followed was, in a sense, unique in the history of Christianity and civilisation. The form of government adopted may be described as a constitutional monarchy under the ascendancy of a Church having no recognised position as an establishment of the State, but controlling the State solely by moral influence.

The Church of Madagascar was in no sense an

establishment ; it was an eclectic system of societies held together only by the cohesive force of a common purpose. In 1864 the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel began mission work, but the former withdrew in 1874. In 1867 the Friends' Foreign Missionary Society, and in 1887 the Norwegian Lutheran Society joined the system. Under the ascendancy of the moral influence of this Church system, the political and social reforms accomplished in Madagascar presented a close analogy with the reforms that distinguished the Victorian era in the British Empire, and there can be very little doubt that had Madagascar remained for a few years longer mistress of her own destinies, elective affinity would have added a great nation to the British Empire.

Only a brief outline of the reforms carried out can be attempted. An appropriate form of constitutional ministry was adopted ; enlightened governors were appointed to the outlying provinces as representatives of the Sovereign ; local magistracies were set up ; great reforms were introduced into the civil law and the administration of justice. The army was reorganised, and an expedition sent to a province in 1873 to enforce obedience to the central authority was conducted with a humanity in marked contrast to the barbarous methods of former times. In 1873 all the African slaves introduced into the country were liberated, and this measure was eventually followed by the total abolition of slavery. The work of reform in the departments of education and public health has already been shown.

A sovereign State in which the temporal power is

constitutionally supreme but acts under the ascendancy of a voluntary association of Christian Churches,—voluntary alike in their relation to the State and to each other—seems to be the ideal of Christendom. It did not long exist in Madagascar. In 1885 the country became in name, and in 1895 in fact, a French protectorate. In the following year it became a dominion of France. But the story of the passing of Madagascar lies outside the scope of my narrative.

III

Reduced to its simplest expression, the function of the Christian religion in Madagascar was to create and establish a civil government on the virgin soil of an uncivilised community. The Christian religion was the source of the civil government. Within the area of the British Empire the function of the Christian religion is always modified by the supremacy of an established civil government. It is not the source of civil government, but a tributary stream. I will endeavour to illustrate its function by some account of its operation in Ceylon; and the example of Ceylon is valuable as representing on a small scale the chief characteristics of British India. Indeed, Mr. Laing, when Finance Minister for India, declared it was most valuable to have Ceylon under a separate form of government, and to have experiments in administrative and legislative reform tried there, to serve as a warning or example to the Government of India. In Ceylon the strength of religion as a connecting link is confirmed by two apparently conflicting methods,—by the encourage-

ment of the Christian religion as an agency of civilisation, and at the same time by giving the adherents of non-Christian religions equality of opportunities in every field of human activity. In a chapter on education, I have given some account of the many nationalities and religions represented in Ceylon ; it will now suffice for me to speak of the three dominant religions, in the order of their historic origin, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity. All these religions have one belief in common,—the belief in a triune God. Trinity in unity is the fundamental law of existence. Every natural phenomenon has a past, present, and future. To-day is the consequence of yesterday and the cause of to-morrow. Hinduism recognises this fact in the worship of Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. In its origin Hinduism was the worship of the forces of nature grouped under these symbolic designations. In time the worship of the spiritual thing signified gave place to the worship of the outward and visible symbol, represented in many forms. Imagination and art, stimulated by religious enthusiasm, combined to make the visible manifestations of Hinduism in its temples and its ritual as splendid and ornate as any religion in any age has produced. Coincidentally, as the spiritual grandeur of the thing signified became lost in the material magnificence of the symbol, so the spiritual force of the priesthood came to be displaced by the material forces of temporal power, civil and military. The secularisation of Hinduism first by alliance with, and in time by subjugation of the temporal power, produced, as

the secularisation of religion has produced in all ages, the reign of terror of a sacerdotal tyranny. At the appointed time the law of action and reaction produced the revolt of the civil community against this tyranny and brought about the establishment of Buddhism, a system having for its primary object a distinct line of demarcation between the spiritual influence of the priesthood and the temporal power of the State. But the principles of sacerdotalism and militarism have in them elements and forces of cohesion which proved superior to the tendency of Buddhism towards segregation and individualism. Buddhism was even expelled from India, and found a centre of refuge in Ceylon. In all essentials Buddhism, in its origin, stood to Hinduism in the same relation as Protestantism, in its origin, to Roman Catholicism. But its history is unique. Protestantism has passed through three stages. In the first it protested against the tyranny of a particular religion; in the next it protested against the tyranny of any religion except its own; in the last it protests against interference with the free liberty of any religion. Buddhism has never passed through the intermediate stage: it passed logically from the first to the last.

Buddhism accepts man as a symbol of the triune forces of nature. To the Buddhist the generations that are past and the generations that are to come form, with the generations that are alive, one single whole. Man emanated from God,—the supreme creative spirit of nature, perfect in purity—and at the appointed time the created man will return to be absorbed in the Creator. His function is to

carry out the will of God as revealed in the ordinances of nature. Until he has become absolutely perfect in the discharge of his function, he must pass from one form of existence to another. Only when perfect can he be reabsorbed in the creator-spirit from which he emanated. Otherwise the spirit of creation would be polluted at its source.

In Ceylon, then, these two religions, the dominant influences of ancient civilisations, are secured full liberty, and the security and fulness of this liberty are the measure of their strength as connecting the colony with the Empire. In Ceylon, as in India, accordingly, the religious problem has been and is, how to encourage Christianity without making it a separating force rather than a connecting link. The problem has been solved largely by the methods described in my chapters on education. But I am not unmindful, as I have already stated, that the power of religion as an agency in every department of secular education depends on influence acquired by other methods, and above all by the example of the fruits of Christianity as exhibited in the life and conduct of its professors. Let me quote an appropriate passage from Canon Liddon on *The Elements of Religion*: “ ‘By their fruits ye shall know them,’ said its one great Master, of certain religious aspirants. ‘Pure religion,’ according to His Apostle, ‘and undefiled before God and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.’ ” In other words, it is active philanthropy and personal purity. The language used to describe it in the Bible implies that knowledge of religion and

religious emotion are, as we have seen, worse than incomplete, if they do not lead to active goodness. What a man knows or feels is of little import, until it is ascertained what he does, or rather what he is.

To the Hindu or Buddhist convert the Sermon on the Mount is the Alpha and Omega of Christianity. Dr. Duff, many years ago, in his work on *India and Indian Missions*, described the profound impression produced on a number of inquiring Hindu youths when he read this passage: "I say unto you, love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you." "So deep indeed and intense was the impression produced, that in reference to one individual, at least, from the simple reading of these verses might be dated his conversion, his turning from dumb idols to serve the living and true God. There was something in them of such an overwhelming moral loveliness, something that contrasted so luminously with all that he had been previously taught to regard as revealed by God, that he could not help crying out in ecstasy, 'Oh; how beautiful—how divine; surely, this is the truth, this is the truth, this is the truth!' It seemed to be a feeling, though of a higher and holier nature, something akin to that experienced by the discoverer of a famous geometrical theorem, when, in a delirium of joy, he rushed along exclaiming, 'I have found it, I have found it!' and did not rest satisfied till his thanksgivings went forth in a hecatomb of burnt victims on the altar of his gods. In the other case, for days and for weeks, the young Hindu could not cease repeating the expression,

‘Love your enemies, bless them that curse you,’ etc., constantly exclaiming, ‘How beautiful; surely this is the truth!’ Nor was he allowed to rest satisfied till his gratitude for the discovery ended in renouncing all his sacrifices, hecatombs, and false gods, for the one sacrifice by which the true God for ever perfected them who have come to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus.”

In my judgment the measure of a Christian minister’s obedience to the commandments of the Sermon on the Mount is the exact measure of his personal influence. In other terms, the measure of his personal influence is the measure of his charity, chastity, self-abnegation, contempt of the world and its prizes, and active devotion to an unselfish philanthropy, while the measure of these things in the collective body of the Christian Church is the measure of its influence as a connecting link in a colony of heterogeneous elements like Ceylon. Without an abundant measure of these things it must become a separating force.

Many Protestant missionary enterprises are getting to realise the necessity of readjusting their methods so as to bring them more in harmony with the life signified by the symbol of the Cross. The first question of a non-Christian inquirer must of necessity be, what does the symbol of the Cross represent? It can mean nothing if it does not represent a life of calculated self-sacrifice. Receiving this assurance he finds it confirmed by the testimony of history. “It was,” said Macaulay, “before Deity embodied in a human form, walking among men, partaking of their infirmities, leaning on their

bosoms, weeping over their graves, slumbering in the manger, bleeding on the Cross, that the prejudices of the synagogue, and the doubts of the academy, and the pride of the portico, and the fasces of the lictor, and the swords of thirty legions, were humbled in the dust."

The position of the non-Christian inquirer who views Christianity from without, from the standpoint of another faith, is fairly stated by Mr. Fielding Hall in his work on Buddhism, *The Soul of a People*.

"The more he searches the more he will be sure that there is only one guide to a man's faith, to his soul, and that it is not any book or system he may profess to believe, but the real system that he follows,—that is to say, that a man's beliefs can be known even to himself from his acts only. For it is futile to say that a man believes in one thing and does another. That is not a belief at all. A man may cheat himself, and say it is, but in his heart he knows that it is not. A belief is not a proposition to be assented to, and then put away and forgotten. It is always in our minds, and for ever in our thoughts. It guides our every action, it colours our whole life. It is not for a day, but for ever. . . . We remember it always; we keep it as a guiding principle of our daily lives."

As a logical consequence, the non-Christian inquirer looks to find in the lives of professing Christians the guiding principle of calculated self-sacrifice. In his immediate environment, in the lives of the missionaries, he finds abounding evidence of this guiding principle, but outside

their direct influence he is confronted by flagrant inconsistencies between the profession and practice of Christendom. That may stagger him, but he recognises in the fundamental principles of the policy of British administration a clear line of distinction from the policy of non-Christian empires. In them he finds the basis of the State to have been a national sentiment of selfishness. In his immediate environment he finds the declared and real basis of the State to be a sentiment of national unselfishness. He yields to the belief that the imperial policy of the nation is the collective expression of the daily lives of the people of Christian England, and is converted. The missionary is triumphant; but it is when the convert to Christianity visits England that the real obstacle to missionary enterprise is revealed in the fact that he finds the practical daily life of the people to be, to an extent of which he had formed no conception, the negation of the letter and spirit of the Sermon on the Mount. Among the learned Buddhists of my acquaintance in Ceylon was one whose conversion to Christianity seemed complete. Visiting England, as chaplain to the Bishop of Colombo, he had exceptional opportunities of seeing what may be called the Christian life of our country, and yet his experience shattered his faith and his health. He returned to Ceylon to die a Buddhist, and his life and death gave a rude shock to missionary enterprise among his people.

I have spoken of the Christian Church in a colony in its relations to the non-Christian community. It remains for me to speak of the Christian

Church as a connecting link, or a separating force, in the relations between the Christian community of a colony and the Empire. Once in my experience an unsuccessful endeavour was made to make it a separating force.

IV

I have, in recounting the story of the reform of the Constitution of Mauritius, referred to the part designed by Sir John Pope Hennessy for the Roman Catholic Church as an instrument of his policy. I have also described the circumstances in which I returned to Mauritius after leave of absence in December, 1884. I resume the narrative of my experience from that date.

While the differences between the head of the civil government and the naval and military authorities had become a public scandal, the general community was divided and subdivided into hostile groups, the racial cleavage of English and French, white and coloured, being cut across in each case by a religious cleavage. The Governor's hope of creating a united party of French Catholics had been destroyed by the secession of Bishop Scarisbrick. Of the cause of this secession I was not long left in doubt. The Governor's country residence, Le Réduit, had a wing which from the time of its erection had been reserved for the Admiral of the Station, the rooms being generally called the Admiral's rooms. Sir John had fitted up a part of this wing as a private chapel, and after the secession of the Admiral the rooms, always at the disposal of the Bishop, were known as the Bishop's

rooms. On my return from leave, I observed that the Bishop had ceased to be a guest at Le Réduit, and a casual expression drew from Sir John a frank declaration that he had 'found the Bishop out,' that his sympathies were entirely with the English, and that he could only look upon him as a traitor. As such he was treated. In conversation with me Bishop Scarisbrick was no less explicit. He declared that the cause of his secession was simply that he would be no party to making use of the Catholic religion as an instrument of separation, directly between the English and French sections of the colony, and ultimately between the colony and the Empire. I am glad to have an opportunity of bearing my testimony to the loyalty of the Bishop and the secular clergy in the conflict that followed. Sir John was at no loss for a policy; it was to oppose the Bishop and the secular clergy by the joint forces of a group of the laity and the order of the Jesuits. Of the method by which this policy was to be carried out I was not long left in doubt. In the month of May, 1885, Sir John invited a leading layman of the French Catholic community, equally sincere in his attachment to the traditions of France and his devotion to the Catholic Church, to spend a few days at Le Réduit. One Sunday evening he unfolded his plan of campaign in frank terms. He invited his guest to use his influence to create a Catholic party by the association of all white and coloured members of the Church against the English and a small group of native coloured Protestants. In this way he declared that before long the English would be got rid of, and the Mauritians

of pure French origin would have no difficulty in asserting their supremacy over the coloured community of African and Asiatic descent. He illustrated his policy by abundant reference to the Home Rule party in Ireland, pointing out that the Catholics in Ireland had agreed to accept the Protestant Parnell as their leader, their 'uncrowned king,' in the jargon of the day, and asserting that when once Home Rule was established, the Catholics would have no difficulty in getting rid of Parnell. Sir John can little have thought at the time that before Home Rule was established, he was to close his own life in a political struggle to get rid of Parnell.

The proposal found no encouragement; neither the immediate nor the subsequent policy appealed to the 'traditions of old France.' The next day, the gentleman to whom it was made indignantly declared to me that the Governor must be mad. It convinced me that the time had come when I could no longer hold my office with honour; but I was unable to leave the colony at once, because I conceived that my honour was equally involved in another part of Sir John's policy in which he was engaged in fierce discussion with the military,—his proposal to get rid of the English garrison by substitution of a local force. I shall return to that question in dealing with the subject of Colonial Defence. I need only add here that so soon as it was settled I returned home, and satisfied the Secretary of State that I could no longer hold my appointment. In the meantime, however, Sir John pursued his policy as regards the Catholic Church. In the community of French

origin he found a small group of laymen hostile to British rule who knew nothing of the traditions of old France. Their maxim was 'Le Catholicisme, c'est la France.' With their support, he continued to treat Bishop Scarisbrick as a traitor, with the result that he eventually resigned his high office, and Sir John's influence then secured the appointment of a French Jesuit as his successor. It is not necessary for me to enter into a narrative of the consequences of this appointment. On his death, another Catholic Governor used his influence, and the Home Government made every exertion to secure the appointment of a Catholic Bishop whose policy should be to make religion not a separating force but a bond of union. The appointment of the Reverend Peter O'Neill, of the Benedictine College of Douai, to be Bishop of Port Louis was followed in a few weeks by my appointment as Governor of Mauritius.

In the period of twelve years that had elapsed since I left Mauritius, I had held the offices of Lieutenant-Governor of British Guiana and Governor of the Windward Islands. During that period I had adhered steadily to the policy the appointment of Bishop O'Neill was intended to promote. As regards British Guiana, I shall, I hope, give sufficient evidence of my sincerity in another chapter. Among many expressions of good-will received from the Christian Churches when I left the colony was a presentation copy of *Hymns for the use of the People called Methodists*, the gift of the Wesleyan Churches, inscribed with an assurance of their grateful remembrance of my sympathy with them in their work, and accompanied by a letter

expressing their good wishes for me in my administration of the Government of the Windward Islands. On leaving the Windward Islands, my efforts to secure the co-operation of all the Churches as links of a chain of connecting forces were rewarded in the terms of a letter addressed to me by Archbishop Flood :

“6th January, 1897.

“Your Excellency,

“I see from the telegrams of this morning that you have been gazetted to the Governorship of Mauritius. While expressing my deep regret for your departure from among us, I beg to congratulate you on your well-deserved promotion, and to wish you every happiness and success in your new appointment.

“I take this opportunity of thanking you for the extreme courtesy with which you have always treated me and my letters, and for the fair and impartial manner with which you have dealt with questions touching Catholic interests during your administration of the Windward Islands. I have to thank you especially for having recently nominated another Catholic to the Legislative Council of Grenada.”

I assumed the Government of Mauritius in May, 1897, and within a few weeks, on June 21st, on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, I found the opportunity solemnly to associate myself with Bishop O'Neill in the work it was given us to do. On that day, before the Mass of 'Thanksgiving for the sixty years of Her Majesty's reign,

the Bishop pronounced an address, from which I give some extracts :

“ Before we enter upon these solemn rites, I desire to express the profound satisfaction of the Catholic community of Mauritius, in seeing its Thanksgiving honoured by the presence of Your Excellency, Her Gracious Majesty’s representative in this Colony,—of the distinguished gentlemen around you who represent the various departments of its Government, the military, judicial, executive, and legislative—of the Municipality of our Capital,—and of the Consular representatives of great and friendly nations.

“ Your Excellency’s presence, in particular, is a visible testimony to the religious liberty which reigns throughout the British Empire and which is one of the notable blessings for which we Catholics in a special manner thank God this day.

“ Most heartily do we join our fellow subjects in offering thanks to the Almighty, for giving to England a Sovereign so deserving of our esteem and our affection, for preserving that Gracious Queen to reign over us for a length of days unexampled in our Annals, and for having bestowed on our nation during that long reign, many great blessings, national and moral.

“ We celebrate this Thanksgiving, my brethren, in our own fashion. Ours is an ancient Church, and tenacious of its ancient rites. The language in which we pray is that of Imperial Rome. The prayers themselves come down to us from Prophets and Apostles and Saints of the primitive ages. The Creed, the symbol of Faith which we recite

before offering the Sacred Elements, was framed in the great Councils of Nice and Constantinople before the modern world was born ; and every article, almost every phrase of it, is hallowed by the blood of martyrs. The ceremony we use, the sacred vestments, the liturgical chants, the offerings of incense, the burning lights on the altar, come to us some from an even more remote and equally sacred source, the Holy Temple of Jerusalem. Yet, however ancient they are in fact, however antiquated and mysterious they may be in appearance, these venerable rites lend themselves to the desires and need of every age : and their purport to-day is to carry to the throne of God our thanksgivings and our prayers for our Queen and for our country."

In an eloquent passage on the religious factor in the English national character and life, the bishop found an appropriate illustration in the presence of a party of officers and men of the 60th King's Own Rifles, who had a short time before been wrecked on the transport *Warren Hastings* on their voyage to Mauritius. "A few months ago," he said, "some twelve hundred of our gallant soldiers, some of whom are here present, were wonderfully saved from death when shipwrecked on a neighbouring island. Who have forgotten that one of the first messages from the Home Government was an order for the troops to offer public thanks to God for their preservation?" But of interest above all was the following passage in which I found an assurance that, so far as depended on his influence, the Catholic religion would form a connecting link between the people of Mauritius and the colonies : "A hundred

years ago, when France was shaken to its foundations by a tempest of revolution and impiety, a large number of the French clergy, fleeing before the storm, found themselves homeless and destitute upon the shores of England. It was the Protestant Government of England, my brethren, that gave those Catholic priests a shelter, and a sufficient sustenance from the public Treasury. It was the Protestant University of Oxford that, with most delicate and religious kindness, printed at its own expense and distributed to them, for their spiritual consolation, an edition of the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament.¹ Surely such charity will not be left unrewarded.

“My brethren [he concluded], there is one happy change touching things spiritual, more and more marked as this momentous century grows old, and even now clearly discernible to thoughtful men. England is growing weary of theological wrangling, disgusted with religious strife. Englishmen are beginning to yearn for peace, for unity, or at least for union. Yesterday in every Church and Chapel spiritually subject to Her Majesty throughout the Empire, there was offered up to God an earnest prayer for this great spiritual blessing of unity. That prayer is ours also, though made in other words.”

To the work in which we became associated by a remarkable chain of circumstances, I believe

¹Two copies of this work are preserved in the English College, Douai, France. The title-page has these words : *In usum cleri Gallicani exultantis. Sumptibus Universitatis.*

we never ceased to devote ourselves with loyalty. I have often publicly, and in a series of despatches to the Secretary of State, expressed my sense of the value of the Bishop's co-operation, and he has been more than generous in his appreciation of at least the sincerity of my desire that religion should be a connecting and not a separating force.

One of the last privileges of my administration was to propose, and to see unanimously passed by the Council of Government, an increase of the vote for the Roman Catholic Establishment. Objections were raised at the Colonial Office, but I defended it, and it was approved by the Secretary of State on the ground of the imperial value of the Catholic Church as a connecting link in the attachment of the colony to the Crown.

CHAPTER XVIII

AGRICULTURE

ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS, KEW

THROUGH the person of the Director, the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, occupy a place in the Colonial Office system analogous to that held by the Medical Department. They constitute *de facto* the Botanical Department of the Colonial Office, although they are *de jure* a department of the Board of Agriculture.

The gardens have, in fact, for 150 years been the botanical headquarters of the Empire. It is curious that during this long period they were, with a brief intermission from 1820 to 1840, under the scientific direction of four men,—Sir Joseph Banks, from their creation to 1820; Sir William Hooker, from 1841 to 1865; Sir Joseph Hooker from 1865 to 1885; and Sir William Thiselton-Dyer from that date to 1905. It is doubtful whether the collective lives of any four men covering so long a period have ever been of greater benefit to the public good. Towards the close of the interval 1820 to 1840, coincidently with the general trend of our colonial

policy, the gardens came very near being diverted from Imperial to domestic uses; but wiser sentiments prevailed. Since then Kew has been recognised by a Treasury Committee appointed in 1900 as "*in the first place* an organisation dealing with and giving assistance to His Majesty's Government on questions arising in various parts of the Empire in which botanic science is involved," and as having so far "a distinctly Imperial character"; and yet the relation of Kew to the Colonial Office never received any definite recognition until 1902, when Sir William Thiselton-Dyer received the appointment of botanical adviser, being thus placed in a position somewhat analogous to that of Sir Patrick Manson, the medical officer of the Colonial Office. Sir William's successor as Director at Kew, Lieut.-Colonel David Prain, C.I.E., has not received any formal appointment, but continues to act as botanical adviser.

The work of the gardens may be divided under three heads. They provide a school of research and scientific and practical teaching in agriculture and horticulture; a central depot; and a clearing-house. A principal function of Kew in the department of research and education is to train young men for appointments in colonial botanic gardens and stations. There are at present about 160 Kew men serving in Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, of whom about one hundred are curators and superintendents, while the others are serving in Europe (excluding the British Isles).

As a central depot Kew carries on the very important work of identifying the species of economic

plants best adapted to climatic and other conditions of various parts of the Empire. As a clearing-house Kew, on its own initiative, or by request, distributes to botanic gardens and stations throughout the Empire plants likely to form the foundation of new cultures. For some years it has been practically engaged with the African colonies. Among the larger enterprises undertaken may be mentioned the introduction into India of cinchona in 1861, and of South American rubber-trees in 1876. The Para rubber-trees of Burma are descendants of those originally introduced through Kew. In the exchange of plants from one part of the Empire to another, they are received at Kew, nursed to recovery, repacked and redespached.

The system of education and training has enabled the department to stud the whole of Africa with men who are capable of teaching natives the rudiments of tropical agriculture; and it has at this moment a complete chain of men on the line of the Cape to Cairo railway. For many years Kew has been in intimate relations with the Crown colonies through the agency of botanical institutions in Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Jamaica, Mauritius, and other colonies; but in 1898, on the recommendation of the West Indian Royal Commission, the work of the Royal Botanic Gardens was brought into much closer association with the colonies by the establishment in the West Indies of a department of agriculture supported by Imperial funds.

Some account of the genesis of this department will be of interest. It had its origin in the threatened extinction of the cane-sugar industry in the West

Indies. An account of the economic development of the Crown colonies would be curiously inadequate did it fail to recognise the genius of empire in the spirit with which this calamity was met by the West Indian proprietors, and the tenacity which enabled them to assert their capacity of self-support by new methods of developing their material resources. The services rendered by Kew in the season of their adversity were well illustrated by Sir William Thiselton-Dyer in a speech at the Royal Colonial Institute in 1905, in the course of which he said :

“I have been long enough occupied with colonial affairs to have seen an extraordinary change in the attitude both of public opinion and of Government administrators towards this question. At first it was extremely difficult to get any one interested at all in the fortunes of a colony. It has been said to-night we owe the change to Mr. Chamberlain, but, great as is my admiration for that distinguished statesman, and great as I think his services have been in awakening public opinion to colonial enterprise, it is only right to say that there were those at the Colonial Office before him who had some grip of the fundamental necessities of this question. I cannot forget two distinguished men with whom I worked for a number of years, Sir Robert Herbert and Sir Robert Meade, who really dragged me into the work by their intense interest in the material development of our smaller colonies, and induced me to study the question, and to place more intimately at their disposal the resources of Kew.”

I shall have occasion in another chapter to illustrate at some length the consequences of the

decline of the sugar industry in two administrative units of the Government of the Windward Islands, Grenada and St. Lucia, and the methods by which industries in substitution were established in Grenada. In St. Lucia, the establishment of an Imperial naval and military base and a fortified coaling-station had associated local interests with what promised to be a permanent source of prosperity in the shipping interests of one of the most important stations on one of the most important trade-routes of the world. In the meantime, the administrative unit of the Windward Islands, St. Vincent, had been isolated from these influences and reduced to desperate extremities by circumstances which may now be recounted.

I assumed the government of the Windward Islands towards the close of the year 1893, and, after informing myself of the general condition of Grenada, the seat of government, I was anxious to inform myself of the general condition of the sister islands. In May, 1894, Vice-Admiral Sir John Hopkins, commanding the North American and West Indian Squadron, was good enough to place at my disposal H.M.S. *Tourmaline*, Captain Sir Richard Poore, to enable me to visit the group of small islands known as the Grenadines, some of these islands being annexed to the government of Grenada and some to the government of St. Vincent. Colonel Sandwith, the administrator of St. Vincent, accompanied me.

Carriacou, the principal island visited, I found provided with departmental machinery under the administration of Grenada, but the other islands connected with St. Vincent were practically abandoned,

so far as concerned the exercise of any of the functions of a civilised government. Nearly the whole of the male population had left in search of employment either in the West Indies or on what was usually spoken of as the Main, the central States of the American Continent. This, I was told, was the usual custom at the season. The female population and the children were in a state of destitution of which it would be difficult for me to give any adequate impression were any useful end to be now gained by my attempting to do so. I may mention, however, that perhaps their most serious want was a supply of pure water. To honour us, wherever we landed they offered us what was really the most precious thing they had,—cups of dirty, brackish water. It was as touching an expression of loyalty as I ever witnessed, and Sir Richard Poore was able to make them a much-appreciated acknowledgment by supplying them with as much pure water as the condensing apparatus of the *Tourmaline* could furnish. No time was lost in bringing the condition of the Grenadines before the Council of Government of St. Vincent, and in undertaking a system of water supply. The inquiries to which this condition of affairs led, satisfied me before long of the very critical condition of the colony, where the population, possessed of no property in any form, with no land on which it could labour, with no factories in which it could find employment, was threatened with the almost complete loss of the intermittent employment on very scanty wages which it managed with difficulty to secure. Among

the symptoms of destitution was the prevalence of the loathsome disease known as yaws.

At the close of the year, presiding over a meeting of the Legislative Council, after referring to the necessity of vigorous measures to deal with this disease, I submitted my views on the financial position of the colony and the system to which I looked for its economic salvation :

“I have pointed out that our financial position demands caution and economy, but I see no reason for discouragement as regards the future prospects of the colony. In Sir Robert Hamilton's report on Dominica there is a passage which seems not inappropriate to the position of St. Vincent; he says: ‘There is no Royal road to increasing the wealth and prosperity of the Island. This can only come from an increased production in it of articles for which there is a constant demand. A beginning in this direction is already observable, and when once the corner has been fairly turned the increase will go on at an accelerated pace. With an increase of production the revenue will increase, and means will become available for improving and extending the means of communication throughout the island. The people are not wanting in energy and resource, and they will have to exercise both, in the present condition of the island, in getting their produce to market.’

“And the example of the sister colony of Grenada seems to me suggestive of encouragement. There has been quiet but marked progress in the general prosperity of Grenada during the last few years, and I attribute this good fortune to two

principal causes: to the fact that most of the cultivable area of the colony is in the hands of a large body of proprietors who have individually the strongest possible motives to work their holdings so as to secure a maximum of profit: and, secondly, to the policy steadily adhered to of providing all the cultivable lands of the colony with facilities of transit by roads and steamers so that their produce may be within easy reach of a profitable market.

“If you agree with me in thinking that in St. Vincent the path of progress is to be traced on similar lines, I do not doubt that, with your advice and co-operation, measures may be carried out which will place St. Vincent in a position of general prosperity and well-being equal to that enjoyed by any of our sister colonies in the West Indies.”

But my desire to carry out in St. Vincent the policy of settling the Creole population of the West Indies on the land as cultivating proprietors was to encounter formidable obstacles. At a meeting of the Legislative Council in September, 1896, I reviewed the position in these terms:

“In an agricultural community without the alternative attractions of commerce and manufacture I can conceive no inducement likely to be effective so long as the peasant is dependent for his daily food on the precarious and fluctuating demand for labour of the larger estates.

“So far as my experience enables me to speak with assurance, the difficulties of the labouring population of St. Vincent are in the main these:

- (1) That practically the whole of the cultivable area of the colony having easy access to

profitable markets is in the hands of a few proprietors who, speaking generally, are unwilling to sell or lease, with any security of tenure, small parcels of land on such terms as will enable them to be worked with a margin of profit sufficient to ensure the occupier even in prosperous times more than a bare subsistence ;

- (2) That the nature of the cultivation on the great estates on which the labourer is compelled to seek work, and outside of which it is impossible for him to hope for employment, is such that for weeks and months he has often no means of earning any wages at all.

“ In order to meet the difficulties of this situation the circumstances of the colony seem to require a system which will promote the working of large estates by capitalists concurrently with arrangements under which the labourer shall cease to be wholly dependent on a demand for labour fluctuating and precarious at the best and at times liable to absolute cessation. This requirement promises to be met by placing within easy reach of the labourer an allotment of land the cultivation of which will not withdraw him from contributing to the field or mill work of neighbouring estates, but will secure him, at the least, a means of livelihood not absolutely and at all times dependent on the interest or it may even be the caprice of others. Under the conditions attached to the Crown Lands scheme the holder of an allotment cultivates a portion in plantains and ground provisions while he is required to cultivate one half of the area

of the land in products of a permanent character. In this way the holder is assured of immediate means of existence with the prospect of a competency from the improved value of his holding.

“ In considering any question affecting the settlement of land it is, to my mind, not only of historical interest but of political importance to remember the principles upon which the early settlement of St. Vincent was made. All the lands acquired under that scheme of settlement were subject to conditions, reservations, and servitudes from which by a process of evolution the present proprietors of the lands have been emancipated.

“ Without going into the details of the scheme of settlement, it is important to remember that it rigorously prohibited the accumulation of estates in a single hand ; that by the nature of the then existing institutions the entire maintenance of the labourer was a charge on the estates ; and that reservations were made for the support of the poor settlers.

“ The process of evolution to which I have referred has so materially affected the settlement of the lands of St. Vincent that it is in the power of a single proprietor to abandon the cultivation of one-fourth of the occupied area of the colony, and to deprive probably one-fourth of the population of their means of existence. I cannot believe that any proprietor of lands in St. Vincent would avail himself of the power placed in his hands without some provision for the labouring population by whose aid his estates have been maintained, but in the circumstances of the time it seems to me imperative that the labouring population should be placed in a

position protected by some legal security of tenure. In a word it is my deliberate conviction that without the establishment of a peasant proprietary the lands of St. Vincent are liable, at very short notice, to fall into the state of abandonment which has overtaken the least fortunate of the West Indian Islands. But let me hasten to add that, in my opinion, the establishment of a peasant proprietary is a task of no insurmountable difficulty.

“In the first place, we must endeavour to promote by increased facilities the settlement of the Crown Lands.

“With this view, we are considering the revision of the existing Crown Lands Regulations and, with the advice of the Executive Council, I propose to ask the authority of the Secretary of State to submit for your consideration the issue of a loan to be expended in connecting the Crown Lands allotments by practicable roads with the neighbouring estates and with the highroads and markets of the colony. This was the intention of the original scheme and the good faith of the Government seems to be pledged to carry it out as a part of the understanding on which allotments have been accepted and paid for, as well as a factor in the further development of the Crown Lands. This expenditure will at the same time afford a measure of relief to a part of the labouring population at present unable to obtain work, many of whom are emigrating from the Colony leaving behind them groups of women and children reduced to the narrowest straits of penury.

“Apart from the settlement of the Crown Lands we shall have to consider whether it may be possible

to provide by legal enactment against the abandonment of estates with due safeguards for the public interests both as regards the position of the labouring population and the loss of general revenue which must necessarily follow if the resources of the soil, the only source of private and public wealth in the colony, cease to be exploited.

“ I recognise the difficulties of the task before us, but considering the issue at stake, we must not allow ourselves to be persuaded that it is impossible.”

The measures I had adopted to deal with the position immediately following my declaration of policy in December, 1894, may be briefly narrated. In May, 1895, I suggested to the Legislative Council that it might be necessary to resort to an assessed land tax, referring to a recommendation made by Sir Robert Hamilton in his report on Dominica, in which he said : “ An acreage tax would undoubtedly hit those persons very hard who will neither sell nor cultivate their properties ; but such persons are a drag upon the prosperity and advancement of the country, and anything which would tend as this would to force lands into cultivation could not but be productive of substantial good.” Six months later, in November, I introduced and passed without serious opposition an Ordinance to impose a graduated land tax. By this Ordinance the existing tax of 6d. an acre on all land was raised to 9d. an acre on all holdings of twenty acres. The reasons of this measure I explained as follows :

“ The lands of St. Vincent cover, according to the Blue Book, a total area of 85,000 acres. According

to the land roll, which includes assessments on holdings of one acre and upwards, these lands are held approximately as follows :

	Acres.	No. of Holdings.
Crown Lands - - -	40,000	—
In properties of less than 20 acres - - -	1,360	351
In properties of over 20 and less than 50 acres -	1,060	34
In properties of over 50 acres - - -	42,000	134

“The area of Crown Lands under cultivation is insignificant, probably not exceeding 1,200 acres, but, as you are aware, the Government have been for some time offering inducements to purchasers in order to secure the beneficial occupancy of these lands ; and we are now considering a scheme to offer further inducements and facilitate purchase. I believe that the holdings under fifty acres are generally beneficially occupied and contribute indirectly as well as directly to the general revenue. I have no means of ascertaining the area of Crown Lands fit for the cultivation of economic products. A considerable extent of the Crown Lands should certainly be preserved in forest, and it is presumed that they include a large percentage of impracticable land.

“I am unable to state accurately the area of cultivated land in the 42,000 acres occupied by large holders ; but from such returns as are available, I believe that the area beneficially occupied cannot exceed 8,000, or, at the outside, 10,000 acres. Making due allowance for the reservation of forests and for impracticable land I cannot help thinking that

the future prosperity of the colony must greatly depend on an extension of the area of cultivation over the larger holdings in private hands. In an agricultural colony like this, it is not easy to anticipate a considerable increase of public revenue from any other source than the wealth which may be expected to follow the beneficial occupancy of fertile lands now lying unproductive."

In 1896 it became necessary to raise additional taxation. The poverty of the people was increasing to an alarming extent, and I had reason to believe that a considerable area of land held in large properties was likely to be abandoned. To avail myself of an opinion subsequently expressed by the Royal Commission: "The condition of St. Vincent was so critical as to justify the adoption of prompt and drastic measures. A monopoly of the most fertile and accessible lands by a few persons who are unable any longer to make a beneficial use of them cannot in the general interests of the island be tolerated, and is a source of public danger."

To avert this danger I resorted to the prompt and drastic measure of introducing and rapidly passing through all its stages an Ordinance imposing an acreage tax which offered the holders of a land monopoly the alternatives of beneficial use, sale, surrender by forfeiture, or such a considerable contribution to the revenues of the colony as would materially lighten the burden of taxation on the general community. This enactment was strongly opposed in the Legislative Council, and by way of petition and memorial to the Secretary of State. But

I did not for a moment doubt of Mr. Chamberlain's support, and it was accorded.

The critical condition of St. Vincent was a symptom of the general depression caused by the cosmopolitan struggle for the control of the sugar industry, and was contributory to the appointment, in the course of the year, of the Royal Commission, already referred to, to inquire into the industrial, financial, and administrative condition of the West Indies. It was composed of Sir Henry Norman, Sir Edward Grey and Sir David Barbour. The summary conclusion arrived at was that "the causes of the depression may be considered as permanent, inasmuch as they are largely due to the policy of foreign countries, and there is no indication that that policy is likely to be abandoned in the immediate future."

In this belief the Commission felt it their duty to anticipate the reduction of sugar cultivation to such an extent as would make the West Indian colonies dependent on other means of revenue, and they accordingly recommended various measures of relief, and dwelt especially on the importance of substituting other profitable agricultural industries for the cultivation of sugar-cane. With this object they recommended the establishment of a Department of Economic Botany in the West Indies at the expense of the Imperial Exchequer.

Notwithstanding the apprehensions of the Commission on the subject of the abandonment of the foreign system in the immediate future, the irresistible argument of the facts established in their report and the energy of Mr. Chamberlain achieved

the impossible, and the Brussels Convention resolved to restore to the sugar industry all that was ever claimed,—free exchange between the producer and consumer on the basis of the natural cost of production, prices and profits being regulated by the ordinary laws of demand, supply, and competition. A history of the consequences of the Brussels Convention is beyond the scope of my present design, but the capital result has been recently well summed up by a writer in the *West India Committee Circular* (March 29, 1910). The originating fact of the Convention was the international determination of the whole of Europe to abolish the bounty form of protection. The abolition of bounties on beet-sugar released the cane-sugar production of the world from the restriction imposed on it by continental protectionists. They sought by purely political force to substitute beet-sugar for cane-sugar, to prevent the sugar consumers of the world from having both sources of supply thrown open to them. But the better statesmanship prevailed at last, and made these two alternative sources of supply cumulative instead of substitutional, and consequently market prices must follow the natural adjustment of supply and demand.

Meanwhile the recommendation of the Commission was carried out, and a Department of Economic Botany was placed in charge of an officer styled the Imperial Commissioner of Agriculture for the West Indies.

The Commissioner acts as adviser to the Governments of Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, and has charge of all the botanic gardens, stations,

and agricultural schools established in other West Indian colonies. He corresponds directly with the Colonial Office upon all matters concerning the general work of the department, and on all such matters the Colonial Office is advised by the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens. On matters concerning colonial establishments and expenditure the Commissioner corresponds with the several colonial Governments, and his services are made use of in every possible way with a view to the development of the colonial resources.

In the organisation of the department the *leit-motif* has been a desire to enable our tropical colonies to compete with the tropical colonies of France, Germany, and the United States, by abandoning the crude, empirical methods of cultivation those countries have long since discarded, and adopting methods based on general scientific knowledge, but specially adapted to the local environment of the area of production.

The principal local agencies co-ordinated under the new system are the botanical establishments of British Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad, and such colonies as afford opportunities for scientific teaching and research in botany, in addition to training in the practical work of horticulture and agriculture. In the smaller colonies there has been established since 1885 a system of botanic stations; their business is to devote themselves in a systematic manner to the work of introducing, propagating, and distributing all the promising economic plants of the tropics; to initiate the experimental cultivation of new or little known plants, and assist in the efforts

made in the large colonies to secure important varieties; to act as centres for diffusing accurate information, and as training institutions for the practical teaching of agriculture. They are at the same time the headquarters from which agricultural instructors are sent to give lectures and demonstrations bearing on the selection of land for tropical economic plants, their suitable cultivation, and the best methods for curing and packing the produce. These agricultural instructors constitute an important agency in the development of rural industries by improved methods. They carry the instructions of the botanic station so far as is possible into the rural districts, giving practical demonstrations to small proprietors on any farm or plantation convenient for the purpose. These visits are paid at different seasons of the year, so that the instruction may cover the whole process from preparing the soil to handling and marketing the produce in such a way as to procure the most remunerative price,—an important matter hitherto scarcely considered by small planters.

The work of the department is encouraged by agricultural exhibitions, and its methods and results are brought to the knowledge of the most isolated cultivators of the soil by the distribution of bulletins, handbooks, and leaflets, the principal publication being the *West Indian Bulletin*, appreciated far beyond the limits of the West Indies. The department promotes agricultural and horticultural teaching and training, not only in special schools, but in connection with the ordinary routine of primary schools.

Mr. Chamberlain, in introducing in the House of Commons a vote for the support of the department, stated that the grant-in-aid would have to be continued, if the experiment showed a probable success, until the colonies should be placed in a self-supporting condition. The cost for ten years ending in March, 1908, was provided from Imperial funds. It was then decided that the department should continue to be maintained for a further period of five years with gradually reduced grants from the Imperial Treasury, the several colonies concerned having agreed to contribute from local funds. There can be little doubt that on the termination of the present arrangements the department will be placed on a permanent footing, and that the expenditure will readily be voted by the colonies. Much of its success has been due to the exceptional qualifications and the character of the first Imperial Commissioner, Sir Daniel Morris. He had held office in the botanical departments of Ceylon and Jamaica, and had been entrusted with special missions of inquiry in Trinidad, the Windward and Leeward Islands, British Honduras, and St. Helena. He had been for twelve years assistant director of Kew Gardens, and was attached to the West India Royal Commission of 1896-97 as scientific adviser. He had therefore been for many years a link between Kew and the botanical departments of the Crown colonies.

The work which it was given him to do as Imperial Commissioner in the West Indies was the organisation on a scientific system of work

that had been carried on in the Crown colonies from very early periods. In Mauritius as early as 1766 the French government had recognised the importance of methodical control over agriculture. Mr. Poivre, the Intendant, reported to his government that "coffee, cotton, indigo, sugar, pepper, cinnamon, tea, mulberries, cocoa and annatto had each had their turn, but that the knowledge and attention necessary to establish an experiment had always been wanting." To remedy this want of knowledge and method he established in 1769 botanic gardens attached to the Governor's country residence in the district of Pamplemousses. They soon gained world-wide fame, and became, as they still are, a stay of the colony's fortunes and an ornament of which Mauritians are justly proud. For a time, however, the extraordinary profits of the sugar industry had concentrated capital and energy in the cultivation of the sugar-cane to the neglect of what were called minor industries. Such, indeed, had been the success of the sugar industry that the export of sugar rose from 467 tons in 1812, the year of the British occupation, to 131,000 tons in 1860. At that time the small island was producing about a tenth of the exported sugar of the whole world. The threatened extinction of the cane-sugar industry by the rivalry of beet-sugar was nowhere faced with greater energy and intelligence than in Mauritius. Every secret of science was applied to practical uses in the field and in the factory. At the same time renewed encouragement was given to subsidiary industries. As cultivation has gradually been extended from the seaboard to the highest cultivated

areas, agronomic and botanic stations have been established at altitudes of 1,000 feet and 1,800 feet for scientific experiment in products appropriate to the conditions of the higher ranges, such as tea. In this enterprise the colony has been materially assisted by Kew. At Kew has been carried on the work of collecting, identifying, and classifying the species of economic plants best adapted to the climatic and other conditions of all parts of the Empire, and the results of the vast mass of information thus acquired has been placed at the disposal of the colony. In this way the crowd of introduced products from all quarters of the globe has been such that they have replaced the original flora of Mauritius to an extent probably greater than in any part of the Empire.

The Imperial Department of Agriculture for the West Indies had its origin, as we have seen, in the vicissitudes of fortune arising from the concentration of capital and energy on a single agricultural industry. No colony furnishes more striking illustration of this peril to tropical agriculture, and in no colony has the influence of Kew through the local botanic department and gardens been of more imperial advantage than in Ceylon.

The cultivation of coffee had been introduced into Ceylon before the English occupation in 1812, but its development was necessarily limited before the opening of road communication between the hill country and the coast. In 1837 the total export amounted to about 30,000 cwts., of an estimated value of £120,000. In 1869, two years after the opening of the railway from Colombo to Kandy, the

area of coffee cultivation had reached 176,000 acres, and the value of the crop was estimated at £4,000,000 sterling. During the next ten years about 100,000 additional acres were brought into cultivation. In the meantime, however, the disease known as *hemileia vastatrix* had commenced its ravages, and with such disastrous consequences that, notwithstanding the energy of the planters, aided by the most advanced scientific knowledge of the time, the area of cultivation of coffee under European management diminished from 275,000 acres to less than 5,000 acres in 1900. It has practically ceased to be of importance as an export. However, the planting community was not disheartened. With splendid energy it devoted itself to the introduction of new products, principally cinchona, cocoa, tea, and rubber.

In 1883 the area cultivated in cinchona had reached nearly 60,000 acres. But this state of things was not destined to last long. The extensive scale on which this cultivation was undertaken in South America, the West Indies, India, and Java, reduced the price of quinine from twelve shillings to one shilling an ounce within a period of fourteen years, and the export of bark from Ceylon showed the following remarkable vicissitudes :

1872,	-	-	-	-	11,547 lbs.
1887,	-	-	-	-	15,892,078 „
1892,	-	-	-	-	500,000 „

The present area of cultivation is under 750 acres, and the product has ceased to be of much importance.

Of the rise and progress of the tea and rubber

industries I give an account in other chapters of my work, but it may be appropriate here to insist on the dangers that attend the cultivation of economic plants in the tropics without some controlling agency possessed of adequate scientific knowledge and experience, to recognise what products and what species of such products may with the greatest economic advantage be cultivated or acclimatised in this region or that, and possessed of adequate information as to the world's supply and demand. The necessity of an accurate identification of the species of plants to be selected was shown in Java, where the Dutch cinchona enterprise was hampered for many years by the cultivation of a species subsequently discovered to be useless. A knowledge of the world's demand and supply is, of course, especially necessary in the case of tropical products for which there is only a limited market. The risk attending the cultivation of such products came within my own experience in Seychelles, where the fortunes of the colony were largely dependent on vanilla. From 1898 to 1900 prices were very high (Rs. 30 to Rs. 33 per kilo) owing to an expansion in demand. In 1903 the price fell to Rs. 8.50, owing to a reaction when manufacturers found the price too high and had recourse to a substitute known as vanillin. Planters had to turn their attention to other economic plants.

I may add another illustration from my own experience in Mauritius. In February last a correspondent of *The Times* called attention to "the tangled masses of the aloe (*fourcroya gigantea*) that climb up every hillside and adorn all the waste

places" of the island. He expressed his confidence that the future of the colony lies in the cultivation of this plant. The courtesy of the editor allowed me to record the historic fact that the aloes "growing rampant" are the debris of one of the most unfortunate enterprises that have imperilled the financial prosperity of the colony. About thirty years ago, coincidently with the introduction of changes in the law of limited liability, a great number of unproductive sugar estates were converted into companies for the cultivation of the aloe. The enterprise promised well; it was conducted with scientific knowledge and intelligence, and samples of cable were manufactured that obtained high awards at an international exhibition in Europe; it was indeed so successful that it not only attracted surplus capital but promoted a general rage for speculation in shares that resembled the discovery of a new goldfield. Professional men, ladies of modest fortunes saved from the wreck of the sugar industry, Civil Service clerks, pensioners, and adventurers were touched by the prevailing epidemic. It lasted some five years, the period assigned for the cultivation and growth of the aloes, at the end of which they were to yield a harvest of profit beyond the dreams of ambition. Then it collapsed. The nature of the aloe, which produces only a handful of fibre from a vast mass of huge and wide-spreading leaves, requires a large area of ground and a small supply of labour. What Mauritius requires, with its limited territory and crowded population, is the intensive cultivation of small areas. The available area was found totally inadequate for a steady and constant

supply of fibre and cable equal to the exhibited samples which had secured admiration in Europe and done much to encourage the industry. The logical consequence of the failure of the enterprise was a financial crisis which intensified, in every class of the community, the suffering caused by the decline of the sugar industry.

It is not too much to say that the economic development of the tropics, to the mutual advantage of the centre of the Empire and its constituent parts, depends mainly on an intimate association of Kew and its agencies with the Imperial Institute and its agencies. The joint aim of all these agencies is to associate scientific knowledge of economic and regional geography with commercial knowledge of the world's supply and demand. The story of the Imperial Institute will be told in another chapter.

Reverting to Ceylon, it was reserved for Sir Henry Blake to complete the organisation of an appropriate agricultural agency by the formation of the Ceylon Agricultural Society in 1904. In a paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute in January, 1908, Sir Henry Blake gave an interesting account of the principles on which the Society was founded and of its operations.

"Its object was to bring all classes down to the smallest cultivators into closer touch with the Government, with each other, and with the scientific staff of the Botanic Department, for, if any improvement was to be hoped for, science must go hand in hand with labour. The central society was formed of all the members of the Legislature, some of the principal inhabitants, European and native, of each province,

and all the members of the staff of the Botanic Department. Local societies were formed by voluntary action in every part of the island, and were affiliated to the Central Board of Agriculture. They receive all the publications of the Society, and every information that can be of use to cultivators is sent out in thousands of leaflets in Sinhalese and Tamil to the local societies. Every member pays a subscription, and the feeling of self-respect is preserved. Instructors are appointed by the Central Board, who, on invitation, are prepared to attend any meeting of local societies, and give practical instruction upon any matter under consideration ; and the staff of the Botanic Department, who from the first have placed their services unreservedly at the disposal of the Society, answer readily any questions submitted to them, and of themselves issue valuable advice that strikes the director, the chemist, the mycologist, or the entomologist as being of service on the general question, or in the event of the occurrence of a pest or disease. The result has been quite equal to my expectations. I will not say beyond them, for my experience has shown me that, if the people believe that there is a *bonâ-fide* anxiety to assist them, they will respond. In May, 1907, the latest date for which I have statistics, there were 1,200 members of the Central Society, and fifty-two local branches had been established with an aggregate membership of 4,000. Numbers of native gentlemen came forward, some giving considerable sums, others sufficient areas of land for experimental stations, and experiments were in progress that cover the entire ground of rotation in paddy fields; and on

high ground, the introduction of new products such as date palms, sisal hemp, salt bush for fodder, Australian and American maize, etc., and the improvement of paddy by the introduction of the best new varieties, of cotton, of tobacco, of arrowroot, of cassava, and other numerous products hitherto neglected. Experiments are also being made in widely separated districts of the effects of artificial manures generously supplied free by Messrs. Freudenberg & Co., of Colombo. Sericulture and apiculture are also receiving attention, and results in all these matters are brought before the people by agricultural shows organised by the local societies, with the co-operation of the Central Board, the judges being supplied generally from the staff of the Botanic Department, and pains being taken that prizes are only given to the actual growers of the exhibits. In these shows the people take a deep interest, and the competition is very keen. Co-operation has made considerable strides, and I look forward to a great extension of the principle."

It is unnecessary for me to give an account of the development of agriculture in the West Indies, through the agency of botanical departments and gardens, prior to the establishment of the Imperial Department of Agriculture. With the Windward Islands I have dealt in another chapter. I will add, however, one word in recognition of the value of the work done by the botanic gardens of British Guiana. They are of more recent origin than the gardens of Mauritius and Ceylon, but Sir Daniel Morris has borne testimony that they are among the most attractive and beautiful of any in the tropics.

Valuable experiments directed to improve the sugar industry were carried out on land attached to the gardens for many years by Mr. Jenman, the Superintendent, and Professor Harrison, the Government Analytical Chemist. To Professor Harrison, jointly with Mr. J. R. Bovell of Barbados and Dr. Soltivedel in Java, is due the credit of the discovery that sugar-canes bear seed,—a discovery which has proved of the greatest practical importance to the cane-sugar industry by opening a new field for the improvement of the sugar-cane by the selection of seminal varieties. His work in association with Mr. Jenman resulted in valuable reports which had the effect of increasing and improving the yield of sugar and at the same time of reducing the cost of production. Coincidentally, the gardens have rendered valuable assistance in the development of subsidiary industries, while Professor Harrison's reports on the resources of the colony have furnished a scientific basis for the expansion of enterprise in the interior.

A far-reaching effect of the activity stimulated by the establishment of the Imperial Department of Agriculture in the West Indies has been the establishment of similar systems after the same model in Africa and the Far East. In the struggle for the control of the tropics our colonies are thus equipped to compete on equal terms, so far as the science of agriculture is concerned, with all rivals.

CHAPTER XIX

FORESTRY

IN the development of the natural resources of our Crown colonies no department of industry is showing greater activity than the department of forestry, and no department has had more formidable difficulties to overcome. Forestry has for its primary object the cultivation of forest produce for economic uses, and for its main subsidiary object the maintenance of forests for protective purposes. Dr. (now Sir William) Schlich, late Inspector General of Forests to the Government of India, in his *Manual of Forestry*, conveniently distinguishes all forest produce as *timber* or *minor forest produce*. Wood as *timber* is used in construction, shipbuilding, machinery, industrial and agricultural tools, furniture, and as fuel for domestic or industrial purposes. The forest produce of the Crown colonies in *timber* has a very wide range, from hard woods, such as teak and greenheart, to woods used in the manufacture of matches and match-boxes. *Minor forest produce* includes an even wider range of substances not only of direct use, but as raw material for extensive industries. In order to illustrate this latter point, Sir

William Schlich gave in 1906 a statement of the average annual import of minor forest produce into the United Kingdom, showing an estimated value of nearly £12,000,000 a year. It includes rubber, gutta-percha, dye-stuffs, gums, oils, and fibres.

I need hardly insist on the rapidly increasing importance of these substances arising out of the enormous development in the uses of rubber. All of them can be produced in practically unlimited supplies in our Crown colonies, and can find a practically unlimited market in the British Empire. Apart from the economic uses of forest produce, Sir William defines the protective purposes for which the maintenance of forests may be required as :

“(1) Preservation of the soil, especially on hill-sides and where shifting sands occur, so as to prevent erosion, denudation, landslips, the formation of ravines, the silting up of fertile lands at the foot of hills and of river beds, or the extension of shifting sands near the sea-shore as well as inland ;

“(2) Preservation and regulation of the water supply in springs and rivers, so as to secure an even flow and prevent floods, or, where the water is required for irrigation, power, or other purposes, to reduce evaporation in the catchment areas ;

“(3) Protection against injurious air currents, such as gales, cold or hot winds ;

“(4) For the benefit of the public health ;

“(5) For the prevention of avalanches ;

“(6) For the defence of the country.”

Among the problems of Crown colony administration there are few of greater importance than those which fall within the area of forestry. In their

solution it seems difficult to exaggerate the value of the work done by the Royal Botanic Gardens, which for convenience may be designated by the title Kew. Before giving some account of my own experience of these problems, I propose to illustrate the general scope of the operations of Kew by a record of its influence in the East, and particularly in Ceylon. During my service in Ceylon I had no direct official interest in the work, except in so far as the bearing of forestry on climate and health affected the work of my department as it affected the work of every public department. But the period was associated with vicissitudes of fortune in the industrial enterprises of the colony that gave the question of forest conservancy exceptional importance. The whole atmosphere of official and social life in Ceylon was saturated with interest in the perils of the planting community which threatened the revenue of public departments and the livelihood of families at their source.

Sir William Schlich has an instructive note on forestry in Ceylon; he says: "The timber trade seems to have become a regular business about the year 1840. Since then, various attempts at forest conservancy and systematic management of the forests have been made, but somehow matters did not run smoothly. The Government of India has lent one forest officer after another to act as Conservator of Forests in Ceylon, but they have all given it up. The fact seems to be that the Ceylon Government has, in reality, never been quite in earnest to carry through an efficient scheme of forest conservancy. . . . It is much to be regretted that better

progress has not been made in the formation of permanent State forests."

This was published in 1906. A brief narrative of the facts may be of permanent interest.

The necessity for the conservation of the forests of Ceylon was first brought to the notice of the Colonial Office in 1873 by Dr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Hooker, who, on a report of Dr. Thwaites, then Director of the Botanic Gardens, Peradeniya, addressed the Secretary of State on the subject of the destruction of forests, and the evil effects resulting upon climate and upon the natural resources of the colony in future generations. Sir Joseph Hooker's communication was forwarded to the Governor of Ceylon, Sir William Gregory, and elicited a despatch dated July 31, 1873, of immediate interest, inasmuch as it clearly defined the causes that had brought about the destruction of forests in the island, and of permanent interest, inasmuch as similar causes have produced similar results throughout our tropical Crown colonies.

These causes were; first and chiefly, *chena* cultivation; second, absence of system in cutting down timber and re-planting; third, the sale of valuable forests at inadequate prices; fourth, want of proper reserves being maintained in the coffee districts.

Chena cultivation was well defined as a rotation of soil instead of a rotation of crops. A squatter clears a block of forest for grain cultivation; the soil is rapidly exhausted, and the squatter then moves on to another patch to be treated in the same way. The system had its origin in a want of

sufficient water supply, the result of the abandonment of the ancient irrigation works of Ceylon. But it had disastrous effects in replacing forest by areas of jungle, which become breeding stations for malaria; in encouraging indolent and nomadic habits; and in discouraging the permanent improvement of the soil.

With an organised system of cutting and re-planting, *chena* cultivation would have been controlled, while the absence of such a system was further responsible for licences being too freely given to timber traders, lack of supervision in confining licensees to specific areas, destructive methods of felling, by which saplings were destroyed, the gradual exhaustion of timber in accessible parts of the colony, and the wastage of valuable timber land.

Practically inseparable from this absence of system was the sale of forest land at inadequate value. The Crown forests had been sold not to cultivators, but to timber dealers, who systematically plundered them, and, often with the connivance of the native headmen whose duty it was to supervise them, gained a rich harvest, thereby appropriating a revenue which should have passed into the colonial exchequer and benefited the community at large. The real evil at the root of the whole forestry trouble was well summed up as the policy of endeavouring to obtain for the moment the maximum amount of revenue with the minimum of expenditure, leaving the future to take care of itself.

The year 1873 was marked by a very rapid expansion of the coffee industry and a consequent activity

in the work of forest destruction, which made the inevitable end of such a system clear unless effectual measures should be taken to arrest it. It was argued, however, that coffee planting could not be pursued with advantage at an elevation of over 5,000 feet ; and that, as vast tracts of forests existed above this level, no apprehension need be felt as to climate being affected by clearings for coffee planting. It was thought sufficient, therefore, to issue instructions that in the central province, the principal area of the coffee industry, reserves of Crown land must be maintained, the crests of the hills preserved, and wooded ravines excluded in all future allotments of Crown lands for sale.

Sir William Gregory's despatch contained a marginal reference to the recent cultivation of tea in some hitherto uncleared parts of the colony, and Sir Joseph Hooker was not slow to point out that the introduction of the tea plant would probably be carried out in the upper regions of Ceylon to an immense extent. This would inevitably lead to the destruction of the forests at elevations where it was admittedly of paramount importance that they should be preserved. It was a wise warning, but unheeded. Within six years, on March 29th, 1879, Governor Sir James Longden, referring to Sir William Gregory's despatch, reported that in the interval Sir Joseph Hooker's prediction had been verified ; that tea and cinchona plants had been introduced largely, and vast tracts of forest had been felled, no limit being found to the elevation at which they would flourish. In consequence, the forests above 5,000 feet were no longer untouched, large ranges having been

entirely cleared. The results had already proved disastrous, the rainfall was no longer retained but flowed off rapidly, washing away the soil, increasing the number and volume of floods, and thus causing widespread destruction in the maritime provinces through which the overflowing rivers debouched into the sea. In order to arrest these disasters, Sir James Longden proposed that no Crown forest land above 5,000 feet should be sold except for special purposes. Anticipating strong opposition to this measure, he declared that the public interest must be considered as of greater importance than the possible gain of private individuals, adding: "I say possible gain, for experience has already shown that most of the mountain land is too stony and too exposed for cultivation, and in such cases the destruction of the forests has been absolutely without compensation of any kind."

In an exhaustive memorandum on Sir James Longden's despatch, Sir Joseph Hooker pointed out that the evils following wholesale denudation of forest-covered country are peculiarly matters for the consideration of Government, inasmuch as the persons who cause the mischief do not directly suffer from its effects, and are not, therefore, deterred by motives of self-interest. He proceeded: "It appears to Sir Joseph Hooker that although judicious rules have been issued by the Colonial Secretary for the guidance of Forest Conservators, it is a question worthy the consideration of the Ceylon Government whether the forest affairs of so important a Dependency as Ceylon should not be placed under the direction of an experienced

officer who would watch over the management of existing State forests and advise the Government in all matters of general policy affecting a subject with which the future prosperity of the Colony is so intimately connected. It would be the duty of such an officer to put his veto upon the clearing of mountain slopes and crests upon definite technical grounds which could be urged more effectually than by officers of the Surveyor-General's Department. And furthermore, inasmuch as experience has shown in India and other countries that the mere reservation of natural forests is not sufficient without systematically regulating cutting of timber and taking proper measures for keeping up a succession of trees of useful quality, it would be the business of a chief conservator to see that these matters were attended to in the way which is now known to be the most effective.

“Sir Joseph Hooker is, of course, not aware how far these suggestions have been already anticipated by the Ceylon Government, but he judges from the papers that have been submitted to him that anything of the kind has only been attempted in a somewhat tentative way. He thinks it would be very desirable that the Ceylon Government should have recourse to the well organised and highly instructed Forest Department of India, and he would even suggest the advisability of borrowing from that Department,—as has recently been done at his instance in the case of Cyprus—an officer trained in European Schools of Forestry who would draw up from a technical point of view a report upon the whole Forest question in Ceylon

which appears now to have reached a state of things when some such document is really indispensable as a guide to and foundation for future policy."

These observations were referred to the Governor of Ceylon and elicited an important declaration on the real state of affairs. Sir James Longden did not undervalue the services of an experienced officer as Chief Conservator of Forests, but "unhappily the time when such services would have been effectual had long since gone by." Almost all forest land on slopes and crests of mountains below 5,000 feet and much above that elevation had long since been granted or sold by Government. So unreserved had been the sale of land that in many districts sites for police stations could only be obtained by re-purchase: "It might without any exaggeration be said that there were no forests left in the mountains of the Central Province of such value as would require or justify the creation of an expensive Forest Department." Sir James Longden therefore advised that the provincial organisation of foresters which already existed in Ceylon was more suitable and more economical than the creation of a Forest Department, which in the depressed condition of the colonial finances he was unable to recommend. Sir Joseph Hooker, on being informed that the Secretary of State concurred in the views of the Governor, found little room for further observations, but having been consulted officially, he thought it "due to his own sense of responsibility to place on record what in his opinion are the elements of a sound forest policy." He was of opinion that the administration of forests should

be under the control of a single supreme Government officer in immediate relation with the Governor. It would be the business of such an officer to obtain as large an immediate revenue from the forests under his department as possible. But it would also be his duty to see that the future returns were not in any way sacrificed to the temptation to exhibit an immediate income. The essential point which he would keep in view would be the present and future development of the forests without impoverishment or waste. A system of forests scientifically managed should, while yielding a continuous revenue, be in a state of continuous renewal. Sir Joseph Hooker could not agree that the small extent of forest land remaining in the hands of the Crown was an argument against the establishment of a Forest Department. He regarded it rather as a reason for retaining existing forests and for the development of plantations of valuable timber to provide revenue when that furnished by sale of Crown lands approached exhaustion.

In forwarding this almost desperate appeal of Sir Joseph Hooker to the Governor of Ceylon, the Secretary of State, the Earl of Kimberley, in a despatch of December 23rd, 1880, stated that after considering it he was "disposed to think that the appointment of a special officer could not safely be avoided." While reluctant in the depressed state of Ceylon revenue to add to the cost of its already expensive establishments, he did not "feel justified in disregarding the strong representations which had been made by so high an authority as Sir Joseph Hooker." Lord Kimberley, therefore, advised the

Governor to communicate with the Government of India with a view to procuring the services of an officer, to be engaged temporarily, in the first instance, until his advice and assistance should enable a decision to be arrived at as to the permanent requirements of the colony.

After further discussion and delay, Mr. F. d'A. Vincent of the Indian Forest Service was, in 1882, deputed by the Government of India to report on the conservation and administration of Ceylon forests, and his valuable report was published in the same year. The result was a Forest Ordinance enacted in 1885. The object of this Ordinance, and of the rules to be made under it, was : To select suitable areas of forest lands and to constitute them reserved forests ; to buy off or to commute by the grant of lands any rights which the population in the vicinity might have acquired ; to mark off on the ground in an unmistakable manner the boundaries ; to place these areas under effective protection, and generally to introduce system where there had been no system.

But the question of the creation of a Forest Department was not to be settled by Mr. Vincent's mission and report, or by the enactment of the resulting Ordinance. On February 3rd, 1887, Governor Sir Arthur Gordon (now Lord Stanmore) addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State once more discussing the question of the appointment of a forest officer to organise and place on a proper footing the Forest Department of the colony. Once more he proposed to make a definite proposal to the Government of India for the selection of a

first-class officer from the Indian service. His observations on this proposal are of interest. The Executive Council had unanimously adopted it, but Sir Arthur Gordon pointed out that while complying with their views, he was personally of opinion that efficiency as well as economy would have been consulted by the selection of a competent German officer. "I believe," he said, "that a perfectly fresh and unprejudiced eye would have a better chance of realising the true wants of Ceylon in the matter of forestry, than an officer who has practised the art under conditions by no means in truth the same as those existing in this country, but having sufficient superficial resemblance to them to excuse their being considered as identical. I greatly fear that a forester from India may have more to unlearn than one from Germany would have to learn, and that he may be far more unwilling to make any alteration in his already preconceived opinions."

A few months later Mr. A. Thompson of the Indian Forest Department, who had acted in a similar capacity in Mauritius in 1880, was deputed by the Government of India to advise the Government of Ceylon. Unfortunately he speedily lost his health and resigned his appointment. On his departure, the Surveyor-General of the colony was appointed Acting Conservator of Forests in addition to his own duties. The realisation of Sir Joseph Hooker's policy, the creation of a Forest Department under supreme authority with a trained Staff, seemed to be now further off than ever. The Surveyor-General proposed a system of dual control which he described in the following terms :

"I submitted to Government that a middle course was advisable, and that the Forester of a Province should carry out the various forest works of demarcation, conservation, cultural treatment, etc. (as agreed upon mutually by the Government Agent and the Conservator of Forests, and approved by Government), under the authority and protection of the Government Agent, while in administrative matters connected with discipline, pay, promotion, transfer, etc., he should be directly under the Conservator of Forests. By this dual subordination, provided the Government Agent and Conservator of Forests worked harmoniously together and co-operated toward the common end both have in view, I conceived that the interest of both forest conservation and of the people might be met in that the just demand and requirements of forest conservancy will be attended to under the full authority of the head of the Province, while full control over the Departmental finance, and over the organisation and technical part of the work, is reserved to the Conservator of Forests.

"Government was pleased to approve of this recommendation."

It would carry me too far to follow in detail the process of evolution which transformed this hybrid establishment into an independent forest administration. In January, 1889, Mr. A. F. Broun, whose services were placed at the disposal of the Government of Ceylon by the Government of India for a period of three years, was appointed Deputy-Conservator of Forests, and two years later was appointed to the permanent post of Conservator of

Forests in Ceylon. In his administration report for 1892 he made some interesting observations on the working of the dual system :

“All these encroachments have been countenanced by the Government Agent, who is *ex officio* the Chief Forest Officer for the Province! A very bad example is set to private persons when the very officers whose duty it is to see the law duly carried out expose it to such ridicule. It is impossible for officers of the Department to take a real interest in their work when those who should really help and advise them do their best to make a farce of the laws which should enable them to protect their forests.

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“The dealings between Assistant Conservators and Government Agents have been satisfactory in seven out of the nine Provinces. Of the other two the less said the better.”

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“I may, however, be allowed to doubt that a system which necessitates constant appeals to Government from one side or the other can be beneficial.”

But the organisation of a new department was not to be completed at once. For seven more years it was to be a question of much discussion, and eventually of reference to a Committee of re-organisation. Finally, in 1899, the Conservator's Administration Report contained a satisfactory note.

“*Reorganisation of the Department.* During the year under report, the Department has made a new start and a vigorous one. The proposals of the

Forest Reorganisation Committee having been approved by Government, no time was lost in carrying them into effect."

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

The political and economic development of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States has been so largely a work of expansion carried on by officials and pioneers of experience in Ceylon, that it is not surprising to find a close analogy in the evolution of their Forest Departments. Sir William Schlich has apparently overlooked this, for in his *Manual* he says: "The Straits Settlements and the Federated States have set an excellent example, by taking forest conservancy in hand before difficulties had arisen, a wise procedure which has, unfortunately, been neglected in many of the large Colonies."

A brief record of facts is instructive.

In 1882 Mr. N. Cantley, Superintendent of the Botanic Garden, Singapore, was instructed by the Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir F. A. Weld, to draw up a report on the Forests and Forest Lands of the Colony. His report, published in July, 1883, stated that "it is apparent that no sufficient attempts have been made to conserve the Government forest lands. . . . Our timber supply has fallen short of the demand, and the climate of the Colony is becoming sensibly affected. The hill streams run with greater irregularity, and many of the smaller streams have become entirely dried up. . . . It is hard to conceive a more short-sighted policy than that which has suffered these Settle-

ments to drift into their present condition of scarcity of forest and forest produce." The report reviews the whole question of forest management, and makes recommendations for the conservation of existing forests, the extension of forest areas, and the improvement of the character of the forests by planting the most suitable and valuable timber trees. To effect this, Mr. Cantley recommended "the establishment of a Forest Department to take charge of all Crown Forests, whether proclaimed as reserves or otherwise."

Mr. Cantley's recommendations were strongly supported by local opinion. *The Straits Intelligence* declared: "The matter is one of vital importance, and we trust the Government will take steps to stay and remedy the present evils in accordance with the suggestions of such an experienced professor of forestry as the gentleman who has penned this interesting and valuable report." *The Straits Times* wrote: "There is perhaps no graver question which can engage the attention of the thinking portion of the community than the proper utilisation of the waste lands of the Settlements and the prevention of their extension by injudicious clearing and cultivation."

On April 2nd, 1884, Sir Cecil Smith, then administering the Government, reported on the steps being taken for the conservation of existing forests and the re-forestation of other parts of the colony. He urged at the same time the importance of obtaining the services of qualified men as forest overseers suitable to the special conditions of Singapore, Malacca, and Penang. A long

correspondence shows with what care Sir Joseph Hooker and Sir William Thiselton-Dyer advised the Colonial Office in the selection of officers. In 1885, the first annual report of the Forest Department of the Straits Settlements was published. It showed that the views of the Government of the Straits Settlements were in entire accordance with the views brought by Kew under the consideration of the Colonial Office in respect to other colonies. It gave an account of the progress made in organising the department, in demarcation of forest reserves, and in planting.

In his report for 1886 Mr. Cantley reviewed the progress of the department :

"All the recommendations contained in my preliminary Forest Report in the beginning of 1883 have now been carried out to a greater or less extent. During the year the Botanic Garden, Singapore, was placed in the charge of the Forest Department. These additions . . . place the Department on a botanical footing and afford a wider field for investigation and usefulness." The report contained a list of the principal economic plants in the experimental nurseries. It enumerated upwards of 400 species and varieties. Accompanying this was a series of notes on the more important economic plants under the several heads of fibres, oils, fruits, beverages, spices, roots and culinary vegetables, dyes, rubbers and gums, drugs and miscellaneous.

In April, 1888, Sir Cecil Smith, who had been appointed Governor, after a brief period of service as Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, reported the death

of Mr. Cantley, and asked that in view of the rapid development of the colony, Kew might be consulted in the selection of a successor with the highest qualifications. On Sir Joseph Hooker's recommendation, Mr. H. N. Ridley of the British Museum was appointed, with the title of Director of Botanic Gardens and Forests.

In his report for 1892, Mr. Ridley observed: "The work of planting waste land with valuable trees goes on as fast as possible, but it is not easy to get seeds of the more valuable trees in sufficient quantity for covering very large tracts. Para rubber seeds were obtained from Kew and from the trees in the Experimental Garden and a large number of plants raised. Eight acres of this valuable India-rubber tree have been planted this year . . . and the trees are thriving remarkably well."

The report of the following year was less satisfactory: "The great reduction of the Forest vote for this year has precluded any great progress being made in forestry and the consequent reduction of the number of men employed has been followed by an increase of thefts of Government timber and in fires. Two small reserves have been practically abandoned.

"Owing to the working out of the mangrove swamp districts in the neighbourhood of Singapore, the applications for firewood licences have very much increased, and the demand can hardly be supplied."

In November, 1893, Mr. W. E. Maxwell, the officer administering the Government, said in the course of an address:

"I have in the present Budget further reduced the vote for the Forest Department, which underwent considerable modification last year. Now that resident District Officers are in charge of most of the Districts in which the reserve forests are situated, and that the work of land registration and revenue settlement is well in hand, there would seem to be less necessity than formerly existed for a separate Forest establishment, and the time should be at hand when it will be possible to dispense with special expenditure on this Department, most of the duties of which can probably be handed over to the Land Office and District Officers."

The consequences of this abrupt change of policy were soon felt, and Mr. Maxwell's declaration was promptly followed by a determination to abolish the Department of Gardens and Forests as a separate administrative unit.

In connection with this proposal Mr. (now Sir William) Thiselton-Dyer had interviews with the Colonial Office and with the Governor of the Straits Settlements. It is of interest to record that at the same time the Council of the Linnæan Society petitioned the Colonial Office in the interests of science against the abolition of the Botanical Department, and a deputation from the Leather Trades Association, introduced by Mr. W. L. Jackson (now Lord Allerton), waited upon the Secretary of State to urge the necessity of maintaining the Department in the interests of the gambier trade. Other interests co-operated.

The views which Sir William Thiselton-Dyer placed before the authorities, he afterwards put in

writing, and as his letter reviews the whole question of forest policy, it is reproduced at length :

Royal Gardens, Kew,

October 10, 1894.

“ SIR,

“ Referring to the interview which I had the honour to have with you at the Colonial Office, I now beg to place before you in writing the grounds on which I venture to hope that the Secretary of State will hesitate to sanction, except as an extreme measure of State, the proposed abolition of the Forest Department of the Straits Settlements.

“ The creation of that Department was solely the work of the Government of that Colony. It appears to have had the full support of local opinion. I may quote a few sentences from ‘The Straits Intelligence’ for September 15th, 1883 :

‘The Government of the Straits Settlements have neglected this matter altogether, and seem even to have gone further and fostered the denudation and impoverishment of land by grants to Chinese gambier planters and others. . . . The catchment area of nearly every stream is being or is nearly laid bare, and where these operations have not dried them up, pollution has followed denudation. . . . The system of land leasing has had everything to do with this denudation.’

“ The Straits Government appears to have admitted the justice of this point of view, for on May 13th, 1884, Lord Derby on its behalf requested Sir Joseph Hooker to select an Assistant Superintendent of the Forest Department for Penang. This was followed on January 27th, 1886, by a further

request from Col. Stanley for a similar officer for Malacca. Mr. Derry, who had already had experience of the Colonial service in British Guiana, was selected by Kew for the post.

"In 1888 a further step was taken. The Superintendent of the Botanic Garden at Singapore died and Sir Frederick Dickson, the Colonial Secretary, who was in this country, was authorised to communicate with Kew with a view of securing the services of a man of high scientific qualifications who would take charge of the entire botanical interests of the Colony. Our choice fell on Mr. Ridley, who was in the service of the English Government at the Natural History Branch of the British Museum at South Kensington. . . .

"It will be observed that all the officers of the Department have been appointed through this establishment. Kew has at any rate the satisfaction of knowing that each of them has faithfully and efficiently performed the duties expected of them.

"The useful development of such a Department is not, however, the work of a few years. Its ultimate value to such a Colony as the Straits Settlements it cannot be doubted will be incalculable. It was I confess with dismay that I heard of its probable destruction. The first intimation of this purpose reached me in the following extract from an address by Mr. Maxwell, the officer administering the Government, taken from the *Singapore Free Press* of November 7th, 1893:¹

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¹ Passage quoted above, p. 160.

“ Now I do not for a moment contend that Kew is in any way responsible for the acts of the Straits Government. But I may be permitted to point out two grounds on which it seemed proper to take some notice of such an announcement of change of policy. In the first place, the services which in technical matters Kew renders to the Secretary of State in selecting candidates for Colonial posts are of a somewhat delicate nature, and it would be impossible to execute them unless there were a fair and reasonable implied guarantee of stability in the posts which it was asked to fill. Secondly, the permanent interests of the Colony are matters peculiarly the province of the Home Government, and in such cases Kew has always been encouraged to furnish the Secretary of State with such technical advice as might appear deserving of consideration.

“ I therefore sought an interview with Sir Robert Meade on the whole subject, and at his suggestion obtained an interview with Sir Charles Mitchell, who was on the point of proceeding to Singapore. Although the Governor requested me to communicate my views in writing to the Colonial Office, his reception of them was so favourable that I considered I might with propriety leave the matter in his hands.

“ It was I confess therefore with extreme surprise that Mr. Derry, the Assistant Superintendent at Malacca, called upon me with a telegram communicated to him by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, August 27th, 1894, in the following words : ‘ Stop return of Derry if possible ; propose to abolish appointment at the end of the year.’ Whether as

to form or matter I can only remark upon this communication to a deserving Government servant that in a tolerably long experience of the Civil Service it is absolutely unique. Mr. Derry's luggage was actually on ship-board, and under the circumstances the Secretary of State, I understand, directed his return to his post.

"It may, I think, then be concluded that the policy announced by Mr. Maxwell during the time he was administering the Government has been adopted in its entirety by the present Straits Government and that it has determined to reverse the policy upon which it entered with full deliberation only ten years ago.

"You suggested to me that the explanation of this change of front was to be found in the pressure of the military contribution upon the revenues of the Colony. I must, however, point out that this is not the reason given by Mr. Maxwell. On the contrary, he takes the ground that 'a separate Forest Department' is unnecessary, as 'most of the duties . . . can probably be handed over to the Land Office and District Officers.'

"With this view, guided by the past history of forestry in India and the Colonies, I find myself in entire disagreement. Every Government official is familiar with the distinction between a revenue and a spending department. A land office belongs undoubtedly to the former; a forestry department in its most critical and initial stages must undoubtedly belong to the latter, though it will ultimately become a source of revenue. Land Office and District Officers have to get in revenue;

they work at headquarters in their offices, and cannot possibly know much about the land they part with or the possible consequences of losing the control of it. A striking case was afforded in Ceylon, where the Government had to buy back for official purposes land which it had without forethought sold to planters. All experience shows that a Land Office in a Colony is supremely indifferent to the fate of its forests, while District Officers have often proved actually hostile to them. The 'duties' of a Forest Department may undoubtedly, by a stroke of the pen, be handed over to these gentlemen. Whether they will be performed is in my judgment extremely improbable.

"It is necessary to add a few words on the general question. As far as I am aware the Straits Settlements is the only portion of our Eastern Empire in which there is any doubt as to the wisdom of forest conservation. On the whole it may be remarked that Colonial administration has been more backward in this branch of State enterprise than India. Yet it is generally known that in the latter dependency it was not carried out without a strenuous struggle. It is, however, now a valuable source of revenue, amounting to 70,00,000 rupees (in round numbers) in 1890-91, besides conferring inestimable benefits on the rural population. The results would be very different had the forests been left to the District Officers who were supposed, equally in India as in the Straits, to be fitted for the task, the fact being that such men have neither the time, the taste nor the technical knowledge for the work. In Ceylon, where the creation of the comparatively recent

Forest Department was due in the main to the representations of my predecessor, Sir Joseph Hooker, I observe that:—‘Taking into account the outstandings due to the Department . . . the revenue . . . for the year 1892 exceeded the outgoings by 44,549 rupees.’

“It appears to me that in the face of these facts a long-sighted policy cannot possibly urge the abolition of a Forest Department on the ground of economy. It remains, then, briefly to consider what other arguments can be urged against such a course. A conspicuous instance of the effects of forest-neglect is, as is well known, afforded by Cyprus. This island, as stated in the Colonial Office List, ‘has suffered greatly from the extensive destruction of its forests.’ ‘The Masaonia plain has become a swamp while the adjoining hills, denuded of their vegetation, afforded breeding grounds for swarms of locusts.’ I do not mean to say that precisely the same evils will follow the same cause everywhere. But evil there undoubtedly will be.

“I will first take the case of Malacca. Here the forest reserves amount to about 40,000 acres or fifteen per cent. of the total area. This is about the proportion which in scientific treatises is considered desirable. This has only been under technical management for about ten years, and it may be admitted that the revenue of about 1,000 dollars does not at present cover the working expenses. It is proposed to abolish the technical management and to revert to the state of things before 1886. But it is known that before that date the supervision of the Land Revenue Department, did not prevent

the waste and destruction of valuable timber. In Malacca the reserves are the only portion of the Settlement in which the high jungle has not been cleared for tapioca cultivation. A more ruinous industry (except perhaps that of tobacco in Sumatra) cannot be conceived. Tapioca estates become unproductive after three crops, and are then abandoned. During the succeeding ten years the land is overgrown with a coarse grass called 'lalang,' and if the forest reserves were felled the whole Settlement would soon become a lalang waste. Lalang is followed gradually by a scrubby forest of worthless short-lived and short-wooded trees. This, however, in some degree restores the fertility of the land. But instead of returning again to the disastrous tapioca cultivation more durable industries should be encouraged:—fibres, Liberian coffee, arrowroot, indigo, nutmegs, etc. No agricultural enterprise of the kind could be prosecuted without a supply of timber from the reserves. The cost of transport from outside to the Settlement is so high as to be prohibitive, and unless planters can fall back on supplies from the reserves, their operations are paralysed. It is evident then in the case of Malacca that forest conservation cannot be judged from a merely revenue point of view but it is a positive necessity to the existence of the Settlement.

"What will happen when the reserves are handed over to the Land Office is easy to predict. The valuable timber will (as before 1886) be wastefully cut, if not thieved; for there will be no proper supervision to prevent it. Then there will be

practically irresistible pressure to give out the land for tapioca cultivation. The ultimate fate of the Settlement is melancholy to contemplate; the land run out and occupied with scrub and lalang; with no timber locally available and no facilities therefore for legitimate planting enterprise, its depopulation will be the inevitable concomitant of the exhaustion of its soil.

“In Singapore the same observations apply, though not perhaps in exactly the same way. Firewood is obviously a commodity of primary necessity. It is becoming scarce in the Settlement; its enhanced cost is a subject of complaint to the native population. As a consequence the gambier and pepper cultivation which were the most important staples of the island are diminishing and tend to disappear. The Mangrove swamps were the most important source of firewood. These were partly managed by the Land and partly by the Forest Departments. The result is instructive; in the former case they were rapidly and wastefully exhausted; in the latter they were carefully husbanded.

“Practically all valuable timber has disappeared. The local supplies are now mainly derived from Sumatra, and the price has materially risen. Two of the most valuable local timbers are practically unprocurable. Six years ago Chengei (*Balanocarpus*) was often available for boat-building; it is now unknown. Tempenis (*Sloetia*) though still advertised is really unprocurable. Twenty years ago the island possessed a fine forest of this invaluable wood. It was sold off *en bloc* to the Chinese for export to China; the site is now a worthless lalang

waste. It is probable that in no part of the Empire is to be found a more deplorable waste of natural resources. This, ten years ago, the Government of the Straits clearly realised and it is the attempt that was then made to arrest the consequences of past neglect which it is now proposed to subvert. Although little timber now remains available for commercial purposes, a few of the valuable trees exist which should be carefully preserved for purposes of restocking and preservation. This is especially true of that producing gutta-percha, a substance for which in marine telegraphy no substitute has yet been found. The date is not distant when the Straits was perhaps the richest gutta-percha producing ground in the world. I am informed that 'five sizable gutta trees could not now be found in the Colony for a king's ransom.' It is probable that at the present rate of consumption gutta-percha which is only produced over a limited area will be exhausted early in the next century. Posterity will certainly wonder that a country which can only carry on its government by means of telegraphs was so apathetic as to the fate of *the* indispensable material for their construction.

"I must confess that I have entertained some disappointment at the result of my personal representations on this important matter. I have therefore been led to review the subject as it appears in the records preserved in this establishment at some length. I venture to hope that I shall have succeeded in making the gravity of the situation apparent to the Secretary of State and that he will be pleased to take such steps as will arrest the

retrograde policy which appears to be already in operation."

(Signed) W. T. THISELTON-DYER.

On December 17th, the Colonial Office replied, informing Sir William that it had been decided to retain Mr. Ridley's services, for the present at any rate, utilising them for the benefit of the Protected Native States as well as of the colony. As regards Mr. Derry, should it be possible to provide for him elsewhere, his appointment at Malacca would not be filled up for the present. Care would, however, be taken that the public lands should not revert to their former state, that the area of forests was not unduly curtailed, and that concessions were not recklessly granted for tapioca and other mischievous forms of cultivation. The Government would be enjoined not to sacrifice the interests of the public to the immediate interests of the Land Department. Lord Ripon fully appreciated the interest of Kew in all that related to the Gardens and Forests Department, and gave an assurance that the diminution of expenditure thereon was only sanctioned owing to paramount considerations of finance. His Lordship was much interested in Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer's remarks as to the future of the gutta-percha supply of the world, and might possibly take an opportunity of returning to the subject.

I need not trace in detail the further evolution of the Forest Department of the Straits Settlements by a process curiously similar to that recorded in the case of Ceylon. In February, 1900, Sir William

Thiselton-Dyer was consulted by Mr. Chamberlain on the subject of Forest Conservation in the Straits Settlements, and advised him to consult Mr. H. C. Hill, Conservator of Forests in the Indian Forest Service. The result was that arrangements were made for Mr. Hill to proceed to the Malay Peninsula for the purpose of reporting on the Forest system of the Straits Settlements, and if thought advisable of the Federated Malay States.

In December, 1900, Mr. Hill reported on the system and made suggestions for future administration. On the results of the system at the time he wrote :

“ There can be no two opinions as to the soundness of the policy which has secured to the colony 88,336 acres of forest reserves, to be maintained permanently under forest growth. . . . The progress made in selecting, suitably demarcating and protecting these reserves from encroachment and theft is highly satisfactory and creditable to the Government as well as to the Department which carried out most of the reservations, and to the Collectors of Land Revenue who have supervised their protection since 1895.”

On the subject of future administration, Mr. Hill concluded :

“ The Department as organised prior to 1895 did much good work in connection with the selection and demarcation of the reserves : but once this work was accomplished and the protection of the demarcated areas was the chief business, I am of opinion that the Government acted wisely in handing over to the Collectors of Land Revenue and District

Officers the charge of the forest reserves. . . . But wherever the forest reserves have to be more than protected; where works of improvement are called for or systematic exploitation is required, then the District Officer requires the assistance of men with a special knowledge of forest work. . . .

“If forest conservancy is to be carried out on a determined and lasting policy,—and it is only in this way that any real progress may be looked for—I am strongly of opinion that the Government must have the benefit of professional advice on the spot, and the works must be under professional inspection and direction. I propose, therefore, that a Forest Officer, trained in Europe, and with eight or ten years’ experience in Burma, should be appointed, and his services divided between the Colony and the Federated Malay States.”

Mr. Hill’s Report was communicated to Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer, who replied that he had read it with great interest and satisfaction. The question had been the subject of prolonged correspondence extending over many years. As the Government of the Straits Settlements had wisely adopted Mr. Hill’s moderate and judicious proposals the subject might be regarded as having been placed on a clear administrative basis.

In accordance with Mr. Hill’s recommendation, the Government of the Straits Settlements procured from India an officer of the Indian Forest Service, Mr. Burn-Murdoch, on deputation for three years, his services to be divided between the colony and the Federated Malay States.

In 1904, on the expiration of Mr. Burn-Murdoch’s

period of deputation, his services were permanently transferred from India to the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States.

THE INTRODUCTION OF RUBBER PLANTS
IN THE EAST

The phenomenal development of the rubber industry in Ceylon and in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States gives interest to the work of Kew in the introduction of rubber plants to India and the East.

In May, 1873, the India Office transmitted to Kew a report of Mr. James Collins on the caoutchouc of commerce, and requested Sir Joseph Hooker's opinion on the question whether it would be expedient that seeds of *Hevea Brasiliensis* (Pará rubber) should be sent from Pará to Kew in the first instance to be raised there with a view of afterwards sending the young plants to India. Sir Joseph Hooker warmly supported the proposal, and in the course of the year Dr. (afterwards Sir George) King, Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanic Garden, returned to his duties taking with him living plants of *Hevea*, the seeds of which had been procured from the Amazon and sent to Kew by Mr. (afterwards Sir Clements) Markham of the India Office. In 1875 Mr. H. A. Wickham, then resident in Brazil, was authorised to send 10,000 or more *Hevea* seeds to be sent to Kew, —plants to be raised there and transmitted to India. In 1876 the Government of India reported that Calcutta did not suit *Hevea*, and proposed that the plants should be sent to the Peradeniya

Gardens, Ceylon, to be distributed thence to the West Coast of India, Burma, and Assam, and that another rubber plant, *Castilloa*, should also be sent to Peradeniya. In reply to this letter Kew suggested that *Castilloa* should be sent to Singapore as well as Ceylon.

In July, 1876, Kew reported that 2,700 plants of *Hevea* had been raised, and proposed to send them in Wardian cases to Ceylon without delay. On August 10th, thirty cases of *Hevea* (1,919 plants) and one case of *Castilloa* (thirty-two plants) were despatched to Ceylon, and two cases of *Hevea* to Singapore, to give additional chance of the plant becoming established in the East. In December, 1876, thirty seeds of *Ceara* rubber, procured by Mr. Cross, who had been sent on a mission to the Amazons to collect rubber plants and seeds, were sent to Ceylon. In September, 1877, Sir Daniel Morris, who had recently been appointed Assistant Superintendent of the Peradeniya Gardens, took with him to Ceylon ten Wardian cases containing *Hevea*, *Castilloa*, and *Ceara* rubber plants derived from Mr. Cross's mission.

In the years 1876 and 1877 rubber plants were distributed in the East to Calcutta, Burma, Ceylon, Singapore, Mauritius, Java ; in Australia to Queensland ; in Africa to the Cameroon Mountains ; in the West to Jamaica, Trinidad, Dominica, Montserrat. The results lie beyond the scope of this brief sketch. They are to be found in the *Kew Bulletin*, (Additional Series, vii, "Rubber in the East," 1906,) and a voluminous recent literature.

It is not without interest to note the close associa-

tion of rubber, the most important product of tropical forestry, with cotton, the most important product of tropical agriculture in the most promising of modern manufacturing industries. An estimate published in *The India Rubber World* places the annual sale of cotton duck for use in rubber belting and all kinds of rubber hose at 50,000,000 yards. It is also estimated that the annual demand for cotton for use in motor car construction is 325,000 bales, of which 290,000 are used for making the cotton duck basis for the tyres, the remainder being chiefly employed in the manufacture of artificial leather cushions and seats. Reference is also made to the use of cotton in manufacturing the material for insulating electric wires. It should be stated that Sea Island cotton is especially suited for these purposes, as for all others where strength of fibre is a particular requirement.

I may now proceed to give some account of my experience of the problems of forestry in the colonies in which they have been my direct concern.

THE WEST INDIES

Of forestry in British Guiana I shall speak in another chapter devoted to the expansion of enterprise in that colony, and the importance of facilities for communication with the interior generally. I shall indicate the wide range of forest produce available if an adequate system of transport can be provided.

As Governor of the Windward Islands, the importance of protective forestry was borne in upon me by the disastrous consequences of torrential rains in Grenada. In 1887 Mr. E. D. M. Hooper, an experienced officer of the Indian Forest Department,

had reported on the forests of Grenada, and advised the strict preservation under forest of so much of the central ridges of the island as was included within the Crown Lands and certain other portions in the immediate vicinity, of which it would be to the general interest for the Government to assume the ownership. The uncertainty concerning the limits of the Crown Lands had been a difficulty in carrying out Mr. Hooper's proposal, but I took active steps to remove this difficulty by the determination and demarcation of the Crown Lands. In the meantime, however, the consequences of delay had been serious. It is universally admitted that the clearing of forest land if undertaken without due precautions is the fruitful cause of floods and increasing surface drainage to the detriment of springs and permanent water courses. In Grenada, the extension of clearings on the slopes of the mountain ridges had produced such results. In 1894 and 1895 rainstorms of great severity visited the northern districts of the island. Roads, bridges, and telephone lines were swept away by floods. Many acres of cultivated land were also laid waste or swept away. In endeavouring to carry out Mr. Hooper's proposals for a plan of forest preservation, I realised the wisdom of the advice given in the following paragraph of his report :

“ The administration of the forests, in whoever's hands it is placed, to be successful, must command the cordial co-operation of the estate owners ; and from short acquaintance with them, I am sure that, once the matter is understood by them, they will not withhold their active assistance both in resigning to the inalienable charge of Government the backlands,

which in many instances are a source of expense rather than of profit (sixpence an acre being the usual assessment on uncultivated land) to their present owners, and in paying a careful attention to the preservation of their forests, in the management of which they might be assisted by the forest officer. By so doing they would confer a benefit on themselves and on the community at large."

The co-operation of owners of estates was earnestly asked and willingly accorded.

In St. Lucia the forests are estimated to cover about one-third of the area of the island. They yield valuable produce, including balata, oils, gums, resin, and fibres. Owing to the torrential character of the streams, denudation is active, and there is an ample field for the activity of a Department of Forestry. While the construction of roads of very steep gradients was being undertaken for military purposes, there was constant need for measures of precaution to prevent the work accomplished from being carried away by floods.

MAURITIUS

Sir William Schlich, speaking of Mauritius, observes :

"Forest conservancy has been aimed at for many years, but somehow matters have not progressed much. At present the areas under the control of the Forest Department amount to 137 square miles, equal to nineteen per cent. of the total. A distinguished Indian forest officer has lately visited the island and advised the Government regarding the

management of the forests. His report appears to be now under consideration."

The history of forest conservancy in Mauritius has followed the same lines as in Ceylon and in the Straits Settlements. The cultivation of sugar commenced in 1740, and within ten years had supplanted nearly all the economic products previously grown. So profitable was it and so rapid its expansion that in 1761 the French East India Company sent out peremptory instructions to the Governor to put a stop to the destruction of aboriginal forests; but the value of the land had become so great that these instructions were of little avail. The result was that by 1860 the indigenous flora of the island, with its many valuable timber trees, such as ebony, had almost disappeared. Remains of the forests, which in the time of the Dutch had covered the island to the sea-shore, were to be found only in inaccessible ravines.

The records of forestry present no more striking illustration of the continuous destruction of forests in spite of the continuous efforts of Government after Government to arrest it. Between 1812, when the island had passed under British rule, and 1823 five proclamations for the enforcement of forest conservancy were issued. In 1826 the question was referred to a Committee, and by 1867 the legislature had enacted no less than twelve Ordinances on the subject. In 1867 the disastrous consequences of an epidemic of malaria, fully dealt with in another chapter, called renewed attention to the effects of forest denudation on the health of the community, and Governor Sir Henry Barkly

appointed a Commission of Inquiry. This was followed by four more Ordinances in the next four years. In 1872 Governor Sir Arthur Gordon appointed a Committee of the Legislative Council to consider the subject, and there followed two more Ordinances in 1874 and 1875. Sir Arthur Gordon was succeeded by Sir Arthur Phayre, whose long experience as Chief Commissioner of Burma led the Government to follow the example of other colonies and seek counsel from India.

In the year 1880 Mr. Thompson, a distinguished forest officer in the service of the Government of India, reported on the question of the acquisition of forest and other private lands in the interests of forest conservancy and the maintenance of the water supply of Mauritius.

A few extracts from his report will illustrate the condition of the island as he found it.

“The physical condition of the soil of the Island is such that it requires protection not only from the sun but likewise from the direct action of the comparatively dry strong south-easterly winds which blow over it. The soil, the surface of which is thickly strewn with large boulders of rock, parts easily with its moisture . . . ; but its fertility is great so long as it is maintained in a comparatively moist condition. . . . Hence the importance of keeping under forests as large an area of the land, in the interior of the Island, as can be afforded without unduly encroaching on the cultivation of the sugar cane.

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“ It will be seen from the accompanying map that the Crown Forests lie chiefly on the slopes of mountains which are very nearly outside the central parts of the Island and from the tableland of which rise all the principal rivers of the Colony. With exception of the Blocks known as Grand Bassin and the Piton du Milieu, all the other Crown lands, covered with trees, cannot afford any protection to the water supply of the Island. And since the present recommendation is offered chiefly in the interests of the maintenance of such water supply, it is evident that unless measures are adopted for preventing the rapid disappearance of the private forests,—even such as they are—the perennial springs which feed the rivers will likewise disappear or the quantity of water which they now yield will become much lessened. It is notorious everywhere in the Island that, with the disappearance of the forests, the perennial springs have either completely disappeared, or are considerably diminished in volume; and rivers and streams which formerly never ran dry, are now, during the drier months of the year, mere stagnant pools, if not altogether dried up.

“ From what has been said it must appear that the first important step required to be taken towards bringing forest matters in the Colony to a more satisfactory stage, lies in that important one of saving from further destruction and consequent extinction the existing forest growths which at present are in private hands. Such forests, or the greater part of them at least, may become, in the

hands of Government, valuable State properties, which will not only yield in the future returns in direct revenues, but likewise be perpetual sources from which to draw timber and fuel necessary for the use, comfort and well-being of the people of Mauritius. And at the same time these wood-lands will preserve the moisture they receive in the shape of rainfall wherewith to feed the springs and rivers rising within them.

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“Forests and forest soil conserve the rainfall by holding the moisture in mechanical suspension, preventing loss of it by evaporation, but giving it off in even quantities to the springs which go to feed the rivers. This action of forests is, of course, in proportion to the area covered by them, the larger that is, the greater will be the quantity of rain water received, stored and prevented from being hurried off to the sea, or again given back to the air by evaporation, after having been precipitated.”

Accordingly, Mr. Thompson recommended: that the lands to be purchased by Government should be selected with the object of securing re-wooding whenever necessary, and keeping wooded the main ridges of the principal mountain ranges of the island so that the following important results should be derived therefrom:

1. That the forests so conserved might shelter the springs and upper parts of the water courses of the island;

2. That the shelter so afforded to the water courses might tend to increase the quantity of water in them and to ensure its more regular outflow;

3. That the normal moisture of the atmosphere might be increased as well as the water supply.

To effect these purposes, Mr. Thompson recommended that as much as one-fifth of the total area of Mauritius be retained permanently under wood, that is :

Crown lands determined and otherwise	-	35,000	acres
Private forest lands purchased in the centre of the Island	- - - - -	35,000	„
Private forest lands purchased in lower parts of the Island	- - - - -	10,000	„
Private forest lands now occupied as moun- tain and River Reserves estimated at		10,200	„
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Total,	- - - - -	90,200	acres

equal to 141 square miles, or twenty per cent. of the area of the island.

These recommendations set the legislative machine to work with renewed power, and under a series of enactments, Mr. Thompson's scheme was proceeded with up to 1886, an expenditure of 2,918,000 rupees having been authorised from time to time by the Colonial Office. By that time, the greater part of this sum had been expended in the purchase of about 29,000 acres, and whilst negotiations were proceeding for the purchase of further lands in the Northern District, General Hawley, whilst administering the Government, peremptorily ordered that all purchases of land for afforestation purposes should be stopped. The scheme then remained practically in abeyance for over ten years.

I assumed the Government of Mauritius on May 11th, 1897, and it was not long before my

attention was called to the important question of afforestation.

On June 24th, I caused a letter to be addressed to the Woods and Forests Board asking them to submit to me as soon as possible their recommendations on the subject of carrying out the scheme of re-afforestation which had then been under the consideration of the Government for seventeen years. On September 3rd the Board sent in their report, drawing attention to the serious consequences of the delay that had occurred :

“ Meanwhile, owing to the old Indian immigrant gradually purchasing small plots of ground in different localities, landowners have already parcelled out and are parcelling out several important parts of the land which Government intended to purchase. The market value of those parcelled lands of other lands has more or less increased. It has accordingly become very difficult (owing to the increased cost) to carry out the whole of the re-afforestation scheme as originally proposed, and a larger amount of money is now required to carry out the recommendations contained in this Report.

“ The Board think it their duty to press upon the Government the urgent necessity of avoiding further delays. Some of the lands recommended in this Report are being, or are on the eve of being, parcelled out. Redeeming lands parcelled out to small proprietors is a great inconvenience for them. The necessity of allowing them a small profit and a fair compensation for the cost of their dwellings and for the improvements which they may have made on the land renders the re-purchase price more or less

prohibitory, and Government would long be practically prevented from carrying out re-afforestation in some localities where it is indispensable for sanitary and agricultural reasons, and those localities would continue to suffer severely whilst having to bear their share of taxation for the benefit of other more favoured localities."

These observations of the Board were illustrated by instances in which immediate purchase had been urgently pressed and could have been effected at reasonable prices. The Board concluded by recommending a loan of £100,000 for specific purchases detailed in their report.

On November 16th, I urged the necessity of re-afforestation in a Message addressed to the Council of Government, pointing out that before any loan could be raised it was necessary to find ways and means for providing the annual charge for interest and sinking funds, and illustrating the situation of Mauritius by reference to what had happened in the sister Isle of Réunion.

"The British Consul in Réunion in his annual report for the years 1895-1896 on the trade and agriculture of that island, made some observations on the subject of the destruction of forests which seem '*mutatis mutandis*' to be singularly applicable to Mauritius. He says:

" 'Monsieur Maillard, in his *Notes sur l'Ile de la Réunion*, published at Paris in 1862, writes as regards the rage for cane planting which was then even more universal than to-day: "We are convinced that sooner or later the cultivation of cane

will disappear ; we can even now point to localities, as for instance, the lands situated between St. Denis and Possession, which formerly were laid out in coffee plantations, and that have now been destroyed to plant cane, and where this cultivation has already become impossible owing to the denudation by water of the soil."

'In this prophesy, pregnant with truth, lies the cause of one of the chief agricultural difficulties of to-day. The thoughtless grubbing up of coffee and clove plantations, and the ruthless cutting down of the beautiful forests, full of valuable timber, much of which was cleared by fire, has changed the face of the country. The forests which formerly acted as sponges sending out fruitful water and humus over the lower lands, are now more or less clear. After rain the water rushes from them in a freshet, carrying all before it, and, sweeping the denuded sides of the mountain, gradually reduces them to bare rock or crumbling shale, and washes instead of fertilising the plateaux.'

"The Governor, believing that the work of re-forestation is of no less importance in Mauritius than in Réunion, conceives it to be necessary that the report of the Woods and Forests Board, dated 3rd September last, on the completion of the re-forestation scheme, should be acted on, in so far as it may be finally approved, as soon as funds are available. The recommendations of the Board are in favour of an expenditure of a sum about 1,700,000 rupees. The interest and sinking fund on a loan of this amount to be redeemed in about forty-five years, would impose an annual charge on the

Colony of about 85,000 rupees, while the additional charge for the care and superintendence of the acquired land would probably raise the annual charges necessitated by the scheme to 100,000 rupees."

On December 13th, the Council of Government voted a resolution asking that the colony might be permitted to raise a loan of £500,000 secured by the guarantee of the Imperial Government as a measure of relief to the sugar industry. The resolution included the following clause :

"The Council think that the sum of £400,000 will be sufficient to meet the objects of the Chamber of Agriculture.

"The Council are also of opinion that, with the view of protecting the agriculture of the Colony against the effects of the frequently recurring droughts which visit it, and with the view of improving the sanitary condition of the Island, the re-afforestation thereof be completed, and they recommend for that purpose that His Excellency, the Governor, be pleased to move the Secretary of State for his sanction to add the sum of £100,000 to the above loan to be applied to the re-afforestation scheme of the Colony."

On January 14th, 1898, I addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State submitting the resolution of the Council for his favourable consideration. In Mr. Chamberlain's reply of April 7th, he informed me that he could not see his way to ask the Lords of the Treasury to apply to Parliament for the guarantee of the Imperial Government to the proposed loan, observing that while the completion

of the work of afforestation in Mauritius was undoubtedly a most desirable object, it was not a matter for which the assistance of the Imperial Government could properly be given.

On August 24th I again addressed the Secretary of State, transmitting a resolution of the Council of Government respectfully requesting him to reconsider his decision. In this despatch I observed :

“With reference to the question whether the Imperial Government has any interest in the re-afforestation of Mauritius, I may be allowed to point out that re-afforestation is absolutely inseparable from the question of the health of the Island, and consequently has an important bearing on the conditions affecting the health of Her Majesty’s Forces quartered in the Command.”

On December 8th, Mr. Chamberlain replied :

“I deal first with the proposed sum of £100,000 for re-afforestation. The Council reiterate their opinion ‘as to the importance of completing the re-afforestation of the Island both from an agricultural and from a sanitary point of view.’ I fully appreciate the importance of the object in question, but that is not sufficient reason to my mind for asking the Imperial Government to guarantee a loan for the purpose of effecting it. The members of the Council of Government must be aware that the liabilities which the tax-payers of the United Kingdom have to bear are many and heavy, and though they have shown themselves ready at all times to give the Colonies ample protection, and, in case of sudden emergency or acute distress, to contribute to relief, I do not think that it is

justifiable to impose a new liability upon them for the purpose of enabling a Colony to complete a desirable public work."

Disappointed, but not discouraged, on June 23rd, 1899, I caused the Board of Woods and Forests to be informed that I had under consideration a proposal for a loan of £100,000 for afforestation purposes without an Imperial guarantee, and invited their renewed opinion as to the necessity of the measure, and the best way of providing interest and a sinking fund. In reply, the Board unanimously recommended :

"1. That it is expedient and urgently necessary to carry out the long-deferred scheme of re-afforestation, because some of the properties which it is contemplated to purchase for the above purpose are being parcelled out, and the forests still standing on other properties are being or about to be cut, which will to a large extent defeat the object of the scheme, and which will increase the difficulty and cost of purchase.

"2. That the re-afforestation being for the general interest, it is fair that the cost thereof be borne by the whole community.

"3. That the tax which will bear least heavily on the whole community is a small surcharge on the Import Customs duties.

"4. That the Board accordingly recommend that a surcharge of four per cent. on the amount of all Customs Import Duties be raised until full payment of the principal and interest of the proposed loan, which is estimated at £100,000, in order to produce about 1,700,000 rupees, the amount reported to be required."

Agreeing with the recommendations of the Board, I directed the Procureur-General to draft an Ordinance to give them effect. It was read a first time on August 1st, and passed on October 24th.

On November 25th I transmitted it to the Secretary of State, who, by a despatch of March 10th, 1900, informed me that it was disallowed. Mr. Chamberlain's reason was that he did not feel justified in taking the project into consideration apart from other schemes involving large expenditure then in contemplation, schemes for the drainage of Port Louis and the improvement of the harbour of Port Louis. He wished me to assist him in considering which of them should have priority, if it was not practicable to carry them out at once. Accordingly, on May 1st, a special committee of the Council of Government, consisting of all the members, was appointed to consider the question of re-afforestation, drainage, and harbour improvements. On December 20th, the Committee submitted an exhaustive report, recommending priority for the scheme of re-afforestation :

“Your Committee are therefore unanimously of opinion that the completion of the reafforestation scheme is of paramount importance to the Colony, and that it should have priority over all others and be carried out at once. They will not repeat here all the reasons which militate in favour of that scheme and which may be summed up thus : Improvement of the general climatic condition of the Colony which will bring about (a) a more permanent moisture of the atmosphere, (b) an increase of the water supply, (c) an amelioration of the public health.

"To carry out that project your Committee recommend that £100,000 be raised at one time by means of a loan on the lines of Ordinance No. 30 of 1899. It would not be wise to delay further the purchase of the required lands, because such of them as are still wooded will be denuded before long, and others which are in the catchment area of rivers and on mountain slopes are now being or will shortly be parcelled out and planted or built upon, which will render the purchase thereof later on almost impossible on account of their enhanced value. Further it would not be just to the present generation that they should alone bear the weight of a work of reconstruction, for which they are not responsible, and which will benefit chiefly future generations.

"Your Committee insist on the importance of preserving and maintaining the Government forests and on the necessity of an efficient administration thereof."

Early in 1901 I was in England, and Mr. Chamberlain consulted me on the report of the Committee. I need not here refer to the scheme for the drainage and the improvement of the harbour of Port Louis, which were considered concurrently. I strongly advised the carrying out of the Committee's recommendations in the matter of re-afforestation. On April 1st, Mr. Chamberlain informed the officer administering the government in my absence that he concurred generally in my views, and authorised the raising of a loan. On August 12th an Ordinance to raise a loan for re-afforestation purposes, on the lines of the

Ordinance disallowed, was read a first time, and on September 16th was passed. Before transmitting the Ordinance to the Secretary of State, I thought it best to consider the machinery for the appropriation of the proceeds of the Ordinance, with a view to the selection of the lands to be purchased. I anticipated, and the result justified my anticipation, that this would give rise to much difficulty. On March 25th I transmitted the Ordinance to the Secretary of State, urging at the same time the appointment of a forest officer of Indian experience to advise the Government in the matter of the purchase of lands for afforestation, and, what I considered as of not less importance, in the reorganisation of the Woods and Forests Department of the colony. On May 23rd, Mr. Chamberlain informed me of his approval of the Ordinance, having already informed me by telegram that he approved of the appointment of a forest officer from India for the purposes I had proposed.

The officer appointed was Mr. Frank Gleadow, Conservator of Forests under the Government of India, and the terms of his appointment were: to advise on the purchase of lands for afforestation to the value of 1,500,000 rupees; to bring the forests under some proper scheme of working, so as to provide some revenue, if possible; and to reorganise the Forest Department. Incidentally it was hoped to reassure those who objected to any fellings whatever in forests on the ground of diminishing rainfall and consequent injury to cane culture. After I had retired from the Government, in September, 1904, Mr. Gleadow issued an

exhaustive report; but the hopes of those who had expected to find in it a solution of the difficulties and conflicts of years were disappointed. On the main question of the purchase of lands for afforestation, it was decided that no loan could be raised at the time. And Mr. Gleadow's report, so far from conciliating opposition, proved a new bone of contention. It contained a history of afforestation from the earliest days of settlement under the French, in which he traced the deforestation of the colony to disregard of the conditions on which concessions had been granted, and of the laws designed to enforce these conditions. The terms of Mr. Gleadow's comments on what he conceived to be the causes of the difficulties on which he was called to advise gave great offence. In December, 1905, a resolution was voted in the Council of Government, declaring that Mr. Gleadow's report contained unfounded charges against the people of Mauritius, and refusing to take it into consideration.

In the meantime, however, the experience of the Eastern colonies had repeated itself. It had been decided by the Secretary of State, in view of the depressed financial condition of the colony, to postpone action on the report.

To revert to Sir William Schlich's comment on forest conservancy in Mauritius, I have now shown how it has happened that, though it has been aimed at for many years, matters have not progressed much, and I have recorded the fate of the report of the distinguished Indian officer sent to advise the Government.

CHAPTER XX

COMMERCE

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE

PRIOR to the year 1907, the Colonial Office system included no agency linking it directly with the manufacturing interests upon which the policy of development depends, if the Crown colonies are to be made at once a source of supply in respect of articles of food and raw materials and a market for the absorption of our manufactures. A few figures may serve to give some idea of what may be called the market capacity of the undeveloped Crown colonies in continental Africa added to the Empire within the last half century. With an area of 1,600,000 square miles, and a population of nearly 30,000,000 inhabitants, the volume of their foreign trade falls short of £25,000,000. It is interesting, as an indication of what the market capacity may become under the influence of civilisation, to observe that a small group of island colonies, geographically connected with Africa, with an area of less than 1,000 square miles, show a volume of trade of over £4,500,000. The success of the imperial enterprise thus indicated depends on our

national acceptance as articles of faith of these elementary propositions: that in the forefront of all considerations that have to be taken into account in weighing the burden of our responsibilities in the undoubtedly colossal work we have undertaken, there stands the capacity of the Crown colonies to provide revenues adequate to the maintenance of a civilised government; that such revenues can only be found in the development of local natural resources in such a way that every administrative unit shall become at once a market of supply and of demand; that such a result can only be obtained by the collaboration of the capital and commerce of the United Kingdom with colonial enterprise; and that industrial prosperity is inseparable from scientific knowledge and research.

That the intimate connection between scientific knowledge and industrial prosperity is now recognised as fully in England as on the Continent of Europe or in America, we have abundant proof in the organisation of agencies having for their aim technological education, scientific research, and the application of the results of research to local resources and capacities.

It must be admitted, however, that we had allowed foreign countries, and France and Germany in particular, to outstrip us in making systematic provision for the application of science to the solution of the various problems involved in the development of the commercial resources of tropical countries. For many years the relatively small tropical colonies of France and Germany were the scene of scientific activity and the expenditure of large sums of money

in exploring and ascertaining by scientific methods the value of their resources, while we were content to make use of the results they had obtained. In our tropical colonies a few years ago, scientific departments in connection with agriculture and economic development were, with one or two exceptions, either non-existent, or organised in a primitive fashion, while there was no central department at home in connection with the Colonial Office to follow up the commercial results of the local agencies, or to provide for the fuller investigation of the materials brought to light in the tropics. Kew stood alone, as is shown elsewhere, in providing for the investigation of the origin of useful plants. In recent years much has been done to remedy these deficiencies. Agricultural departments have been organised on new lines in many of the Crown colonies, and a Central department co-operating with these exists at the Imperial Institute. All this has been well explained by Professor Wyndham Dunstan in his Presidential Address to the Chemical and Agricultural section of the British Association (*Bulletin of the Imperial Institute*, 1907). Much, however, still remains to be done, especially in the direction which I have advocated, of focussing all this work in the system of the Colonial Office.

Sufficiently conclusive evidence, that no lack of sympathy and understanding at present exists as to the important service science can render to the commercial development of our possessions, is to be found in the development of the scientific and technical side of the Imperial Institute. A brief

narrative of the origin and progress of this work may be of interest.

In September, 1886, his late Majesty King Edward (then Prince of Wales) appointed an organising Committee to determine the character and scope of operations of an Imperial Institute intended to commemorate the fiftieth year of the reign of Queen Victoria. In May, 1888, the comprehensive scheme submitted by the committee was embodied in a Royal Charter which at the same time incorporated an Association by the name of the "Imperial Institute of the United Kingdom, of the Colonies and India and the Isles of the British Seas." The three chief purposes of the Imperial Institute were set out as follows :

1. The formation and exhibition of collections representing the important raw materials and manufactured products of our Empire and of other countries so maintained as to illustrate the development of agricultural, commercial, and industrial progress in our Empire and the comparative advances made in other countries.

2. The establishment or promotion of commercial museums, sample rooms and intelligence offices in London and other parts of the Empire.

3. The collection and dissemination of such information relating to trades and industries, to emigration, and to the other purposes of this our Charter as may be of use to the subjects of our Empire.

The Association incorporated to carry out these and other purposes was a voluntary society of Fellows governed under its Charter and under a constitution

approved by Royal Warrant in 1891. Its administrative system was composed of a governing body, of which the Prince of Wales was President, and an executive council, including representatives of the Indian Empire and of all the British colonies and dependencies.

The opening of the Institute in 1893 was followed by tentative enterprises designed to further the various purposes contemplated in the Charter. But the late Sir Frederick Abel, who had been the secretary of the organising committee, and had become organising director and secretary of the Institute, kept steadily in view that the general purposes of the scheme must be kept subsidiary to the main object of utilising the commercial and industrial resources of the Empire, by providing comprehensive collections of its natural products and obtaining full scientific, practical, and commercial information relating to them. Recognising the arrangement and display of products as rather a means than an end, he attached the first importance to making them the subject of scientific examination and investigation, with commercial development in view, and devoted himself to the creation of a department of scientific and technical research, with special reference to the needs of the colonies, of which Professor Wyndham Dunstan was appointed the first Director. The story of the evolution of this department of the Institute has been told by Sir Frederick Abel himself in his preface to a volume of reports and papers published by the Institute in 1903.¹

¹ *Technical Reports and Scientific Papers*, edited by Professor Wyndham Dunstan, F.R.S., Imperial Institute, 1903.

In the face of difficulties which would have been insurmountable but for the interest taken in the scheme by his late Majesty, then President of the governing body, the Scientific and Technical Department got itself established in the autumn of 1896, and, with the invaluable support of Mr. Chamberlain, its operations steadily extended, until it became within a brief period one of the most important national instruments for promoting the development of the resources of the colonies and India, and indirectly the commerce of the Empire, by bringing to the notice of British merchants and manufacturers such natural products of the colonies and India, and also of foreign countries, as are likely to be serviceable to British commerce.

In the meantime, however, owing to a variety of causes, the Institute had been overtaken by serious financial embarrassments. It had received no financial aid from the Government, either for the erection of the building or for the endowment of the work to be carried on. The endowment fund, composed of voluntary contributions, was small, and quite inadequate to the accomplishment of the purposes set out in the charter. An attempt to raise income by the creation of a class of annually subscribing Fellows failed; and the final catastrophe was hastened by methods of administration which tended to make the economic purposes of the Institute subsidiary to its use for social functions. In consequence, the building became, in the year 1900, the property of the Government, by whom the western portion and galleries were leased to the governing body of the Institute, while the greater

part of the eastern and central portions were, subject to certain rights of usage, assigned to the use of the University of London.

In these circumstances the Scientific Department had to rely on special funds provided mainly by the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851, who, in the imminent peril of the Institute, in May, 1900, resolved to continue an original grant of £1,000 per annum for a further period of five years, and to grant a further sum of £1,000 per annum for "a period of three years" upon the condition "that this money be devoted solely and alone to the expenses of the Scientific Research Department and no other objects." This fund was supplemented by small contributions from some of the City Guilds, and doles from other sources.

In 1902 the administrative system failed. The Imperial Institute (Transfer) Act dissolved the Corporation and transferred its property, rights and obligations to the Government. The property consisted mainly of an endowment fund, established in accordance with the charter, representing an invested sum of about £140,000, and this fund, together with the building, was transferred to and became vested in the Imperial Institute trustees appointed by the Act—the First Commissioner of the Treasury, the Secretaries of State for India and the Colonies, and the President of the Board of Trade. The income of the endowment fund and the management of the building were transferred to the Board of Trade, to be applied, *so far as practicable*, to the purposes of the Imperial Institute, as set out in the Royal Charter and recited in a schedule of the Act, subject

to the proviso of a clause saving the rights of the University of London to occupy a portion of the building. The transfer to the Board of Trade included the management of the special funds contributed solely and alone for the purposes of the Scientific Department. I have underlined the words *so far as practicable* contained in the Act, because in order to understand the position of the Institute it is necessary to take into account the limitations of the area of its activity at the time of the transfer to the Board of Trade.

The report of the Board of Trade on the work of the Institute for 1905 was prefaced by a letter of the Controller-General of the department, showing that at the time of transfer the only branches of activity of real importance, apart from subsidiary work, were the Scientific and Technical Department, the Colonial and Indian Collections, and the Commercial Intelligence Department. This last-mentioned department, so far as it related to the provision of statistical, tariff, and general trade information, was subsequently combined with and absorbed into the Commercial Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade, having its headquarters in the City of London, so that, apart from certain subsidiary uses to which some rooms within the Institute building were applied, the area of activity in 1906 was limited to the two branches mentioned. At the same time the Controller-General's letter made it plain that financially the administrative system set up in 1902 had already failed. "It is clear," he wrote, "to the Board of Trade that the work performed at the Imperial Institute, and especially in the Scientific

and Technical Department, is of a kind for which there is a great and increasing demand in the interests of various parts of the Empire. Considerable anxiety has, therefore, been recently caused by the cessation at the beginning of 1906 of the grant of £2,000 a year previously made by the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition towards the expenses of this Department. The loss of this grant has made it necessary to trench to a considerable extent during the current year upon the accumulated balance of funds in order to avoid a serious and immediate reduction in the efficiency of the Department, while it has naturally made it impossible to meet the legitimate demands for expansion. It is obvious that this state of things could not permanently continue, and negotiations have accordingly taken place between the Board of Trade, Colonial Office, and Treasury, with a view to the adoption of some scheme for putting the Scientific and Technical Department on a satisfactory financial footing. I am glad to be able to report that, while these negotiations are not yet completed, sufficient progress has been made to make it practically certain that the loss caused by the withdrawal of the Commissioners' grant will at least be made good by contributions partly from the Treasury, partly from the Governments of the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, which chiefly avail themselves of the services of the Department, while there is good reason for hoping that a sufficient fund will be forthcoming, not only to replace the lost grant, but to enable the Department to meet the increasing demands for its services. In view of the fact that

a large proportion of the funds for the support of the Scientific and Technical Department will under this scheme be contributed by the Governments of the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, it seems desirable that the management of the funds so contributed should be largely controlled by the Colonial Office. Arrangements for this purpose are now under consideration between the Departments, having due regard to the provisions of the Act of 1902, and also to the special position occupied by the Government of India."

The peril of the Imperial Institute suggested various schemes of reconstruction, among others a proposal to reconstruct the University of London as an Imperial University and to incorporate in it the Imperial Institute. As one who had enjoyed exceptional facilities for learning the needs of the Crown colonies, I associated myself at this time with many who desired to see the Imperial Institute admitted within the Colonial Office system as a Department of Technical Intelligence in connection with existing scientific and technical departments in the colonies whose operations the central department would supplement. Looking back with the wisdom that follows events it was easy to see that the original scheme of the Institute failed for want of co-ordination of its principal purposes under a powerful and responsible central force. An adequate and appropriate force was to be found in the Colonial Office and could be applied by a verbal amendment of the Act of 1902 to the purposes of the Institute, Indian interests, which are for these purposes very similar to those of the Crown colonies,

being duly safeguarded. The Colonial Office system, as has been shown in an earlier chapter, included at the time four bodies, each revolving, in a sense, on its own axis round the central force of the Secretary of State: a political body, the Establishment; a body representing a department of Finance and Public Works, the Crown Agents' Office; a nebulous body of agencies representing a Medical Department; and a body representing a Botanical Department, the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. To these bodies it was proposed to add the Imperial Institute as a Department of Technical Intelligence and Investigation. I submitted the proposition that upon the co-ordination of these bodies depended the co-ordination of all the agencies of a civilised Government,—Politics in the most comprehensive sense of the term, Finance and Public Works, Sanitation and Health, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufacture. I argued that the Colonial Office system thus constituted, would have an army of experienced officials scattered over the vast territory under its administration girdling the waist of the earth, while the collective experience of the whole system would be at the disposal of each of the combined agencies. I still look forward to the accomplishment of this Imperial scheme. In the meantime, however, the Institute was, in 1907, rescued from its perilous position by a *modus vivendi*. It was decided that the Imperial Institute should be largely controlled by the Colonial Office, without prejudice to the general control of the Institute vested by statute in the Board of Trade. It was a step in the right direction, but it can

hardly be expected to prove a permanent settlement. It relieved the Institute from the financial pressure that threatened it, and has been followed by a period of energy that is yearly confirming its importance and influence. It was fortunate that the year 1905, just before the crisis of its fortunes, was marked by a special exhibition illustrating British cotton cultivation and commercial uses of cotton held at the Institute. The exhibition was arranged by the staff of the Institute in conjunction with the British Cotton Growing Association so as to illustrate every stage of cultivation and manufacture, from the cotton plant to the most finished fabric, including processes for the utilisation of secondary and waste products. A section contained exhibits of the machinery used in each of the various processes, and the whole was arranged to render every operation from start to finish intelligible to the general public. Another section was devoted to illustrating the work of the Institute in gauging the value of cotton grown in every part of the Empire. While the main purpose of the exhibition was to indicate the importance of extending the cultivation of cotton in British territory, it served as a remarkable object-lesson in illustrating the dependence of our great manufacturing and a host of subsidiary industries on the products of our Crown colonies. The opening of this exhibition was attended by his Majesty King George, then Prince of Wales, who has always taken a keen interest in the Imperial work of the Institute.

It is now some fourteen years since the Scientific and Technical department of the Imperial Institute

was established on a definite footing under the charge of Professor Wyndham Dunstan, now Director of the Institute. As has been already pointed out, the main object of the Institute is to promote the utilisation of the commercial and industrial resources of the Empire, especially of India and the colonies, by the collection, exhibition, and description of the products of its component parts, and by scientific, technical, and commercial investigation and trial of their uses. The Institute has thus two principal branches or departments, the department of Exhibition for purposes of illustrating the present position of the colonies and India in every aspect, as well as for scientific and commercial reference, and the Scientific and Technical department for the conduct of investigations and the supply of special information. The Institute now has a considerable but insufficient staff of experts at work in these two departments.

In the department of Exhibition new and important methods of displaying and describing the permanent Colonial and Indian collections have been constantly adopted with a view to making them an adequate and intelligible representation of the resources of the Empire, of value alike for educational and commercial purposes.

The methods of the Scientific and Technical Department of the Institute may be briefly described. It ascertains, at first through chemical investigation in its laboratories, the composition of every natural product of the Empire referred to it. The results are submitted to some of the principal manufacturers in this country who assist in determining the technical value of the materials

investigated ; and finally, eminent merchants and brokers report on their commercial value in the light of the scientific investigation and technical trials. And these methods for determining the uses and market value of the products are supplemented by surveys and investigations conducted in the colonies by qualified experts acting under the supervision of the Director of the Institute in order to ascertain the capacities of the colonies or areas of origin. It is, in short, an expert agency for gauging the value of the raw materials of our vast possessions and advising on their utilisation. The staff consists of men who have been scientifically trained with special reference to the numerous branches of this work.

The Scientific and Technical Department is now working in co-operation with the Agricultural and Mines Departments in the colonies. It supplements their operations by undertaking such inquiries and investigations as are of a special scientific and technical character connected with agricultural or mineral development. Mineral surveys, under the supervision of the Director, and conducted by surveyors selected by him, are in progress in Ceylon, Northern Nigeria, Southern Nigeria, and Nyassaland, and preliminary arrangements of a similar nature have been made in connection with British East Africa, and with the Anglo-Congolese Boundary Commission in Uganda. All minerals found which are likely to be of commercial importance are forwarded to the Imperial Institute, where they are examined and their composition and commercial value ascertained.

Of noteworthy importance have been the investigations of the Department in connection with the sources of thorium.

A mere catalogue of the subjects which have been investigated by the Institute would almost serve as an inventory of the natural resources of the Empire, while the range of the areas of origin would practically represent its limits.

Records of this work are published as Parliamentary papers by the Colonial Office and in the quarterly *Bulletin* of the Institute, which also includes special articles relating to the progress which is being made in the various branches of economic development both in our own and foreign possessions. The *Bulletin* now enjoys a wide circulation. An Annual Report on the work of the Institute is also now presented to Parliament.

Associated with the three principal departments of the Institute is a department of tropical service training for candidates selected by the Colonial Office for administrative appointments in East and West Africa. Courses of instruction, including accounting, law, tropical hygiene, and a wide range of subjects connected with tropical cultivation and tropical products are arranged for.

Auxiliary to all the purposes of the Institute are the Library and the Reading Rooms containing a large collection of works of reference, official publications, and periodicals, connected with India and the colonies; the Colonial Conference Rooms reserved for use by Societies and representatives of the colonies, for meetings and receptions; and the Cowasjee Jehanghier Hall available for lectures and meetings.

Appropriately accommodated in the premises of the Institute are the African Society, for the discussion and publication of matters connected with British African possessions ; the British Women's Emigration Association, for affording information and advice respecting the prospects for women in the colonies ; and the Colonial Nursing Association, a valuable auxiliary of the Colonial Office in connection with Tropical Medicine.

The work of the Imperial Institute in all its departments has now reached such dimensions that the space assigned to it ten years ago in the Imperial Institute building under the arrangement then made with the Government is inadequate, and further extensions are urgently needed, as indicated in the two last Annual Reports presented to Parliament. The University of London, which occupies under a Treasury Minute a portion of the same building, is also said to require more accommodation, and various proposals are being put forward. One is that the University should be allowed to occupy the entire building of the Imperial Institute. It is inconceivable to those of us who are or have been closely connected with the development of the colonies and India that this proposal should be seriously considered. The Imperial Institute was erected and endowed as a memorial of the reign of Queen Victoria for the performance of specific work on behalf of India and the colonies, as well as for the United Kingdom. Since the transfer of the Imperial Institute to the Government, this work has steadily grown in amount and importance, and the Institute is now more largely utilised and appreciated by the

colonies than at any former period of its existence. It is now in a position to make most efficient use of the whole of the building, as was intended by those who contributed to its foundation. The only equitable and feasible plan under the present circumstances is to provide the University of London with the accommodation it needs elsewhere, and thus leave the Imperial Institute free to fulfil the high destiny which was marked out for it and towards which it has in the last decade made such remarkable strides.

CHAPTER XXI

FINANCE

THE CROWN AGENTS

FINANCIAL administration in the Crown colonies is dominated by two essential considerations. The actual development of their resources depends almost exclusively on British capital invested in land or in commercial enterprises ; and the security of capital depends on the control of the Imperial Government over the expenditure of the local Government. In the Crown colonies generally, the only taxable fund is the wage fund supplied by the annual proceeds of the cultivation of the land. This fund provides the local expenditure of capitalists or their representatives, salaries, professional emoluments, and wages for the whole community. It has also to provide the interest on loans raised by Government for expenditure on public works. It is hardly necessary to argue that the security of capital employed in private enterprise is inseparable from the security of capital raised by public loans for the purpose of promoting by expenditure on public works private enterprise in agriculture and commerce.

The Duke of Buckingham's despatch of August 18th, 1868, showed clearly that in the West Indies it was the desire of all parties to establish a system of government and legislation by which the financial condition of the colonies should be improved and their agricultural and commercial interests promoted. For these ends the Imperial Government were willing to accept a system in which they should act as trustees for the colonies, but declared that they were not willing to accept the responsibility of the trust unless accompanied by an adequate measure of power and control. Under the system established on these conditions a vigorous effort was made to avert the ruin threatened by the declining fortunes of the sugar industry, and to restore the capacity of the colonies for self-support by encouraging enterprise in other industries.

I have in a previous chapter shown how, in the imminent peril of the West Indian islands, the authorities at Kew were drawn into a comprehensive study of the question of the material development of the smaller colonies, and brought to place at the disposal of the Colonial Office the resources of the Royal Botanic Gardens.

It was reserved for Mr. Chamberlain to recognise that the policy might be capable of practically unlimited extension in enabling us to find within the territories of a self-contained empire the resources which the Powers of continental Europe and the United States of America were seeking in their struggle for the control of the tropics. There can be no doubt of Mr. Chamberlain's firm grip of the fundamental necessities of the question. He

appreciated the measure to which the complex life of the modern world rests upon the productions of the tropics; and he realised that, to an extent of which the British workman has as yet no clear intelligence, the employment of the white man in the United Kingdom depends on the employment of the coloured man in the tropics. Indeed, it may be said with truth of some of the most important industries in the United Kingdom that they have their roots in the labour of coloured races, while the trunk, branches, flowers, and fruits represent the labour and profits of the white man. It is only the low wage-rate of the tropical area of production of the raw material that enables the manufactured article to be turned out at a price that ensures a large market and yet allows an adequate wage for the British workman.

When Mr. Chamberlain became Secretary of State in 1895 a great change had come over the spirit of the administration. Experience had taught that to secure a revenue adequate to the maintenance of a civilised government required the development of other than political capacities. The business of tinkering the constitutional apparatus of the Crown colonies had slackened. Material needs, roads, railways, harbours, drainage and water supply, and a policy of expenditure on loan account for reproductive public works had come to occupy a prominent place in the area of activity of the Office.

To meet the requirements of the new policy there was wanted an agency which should associate British capital with colonial needs,—acting on the

one hand as intermediary between the City and the Colonial Office in raising the loan, and on the other as intermediary between the Colonial Office and the parties locally concerned in the expenditure of the proceeds. Two things were inseparably necessary : loans at advantageous rates and the security necessary to obtain such rates. As a guarantee of security an indispensable precaution was a measure of control over the proceeds of the loans adequate to ensure that they should be strictly devoted to the proper purposes with fidelity and economy. What was required was, in short, an agency for promoting the investment of British capital in Crown colonies.

An adequate agency was found in the office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies, who became the advisers and agents of both the Secretary of State and the local governments in respect of the whole range of transactions connected with public works and loans. In this office the commercial and financial demands of the governments of all the Crown colonies and protectorates are brought into focus at the centre of supply, just as their political and administrative exigencies are brought into focus at the Colonial Office.

In 1881 a memorandum on the origin and functions of the office, drawn up by Sir Penrose Julyan, Senior Crown Agent for many years, was printed in a Parliamentary paper entitled *Papers Explanatory of the Functions of the Crown Agents for the Colonies*.

Before the year 1833 the commercial and financial business of the colonies was conducted by agents appointed by and responsible to the Governors.

The creation of a consolidated agency for the Crown colonies was the result of an inquiry instituted in that year. The agency as then established transacted the affairs of most of the present Crown colonies, and of the following among other possessions in which representative government has since been introduced: Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, West Australia, South Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, to which Victoria was subsequently added. It gives a striking proof of the development of our colonial interests to find that in the year 1843 the aggregate disbursements of the agency on account of all the colonies amounted to little more than £380,000. Sir Penrose Julyan's memorandum showed that during the years 1875, 1876, and 1877, the average disbursements of the Agency amounted to £9,481,000 per annum, in the proportion of £1,948,000 for the Crown colonies, and £7,533,000 for representative colonies. Since that time, notwithstanding the transfer to their own Agents-General of the business of the representative colonies, the work and responsibility have increased to such an extent that in 1904-06 the business of the office represented an annual average disbursement of £25,472,414.

The Crown Agents are now commercial and financial agents for all the colonies except those possessing responsible government. They are appointed by the Secretary of State, who fixes their salaries, the maximum of expenditure in respect to the number and salaries of their staff, and the charges they may make for the business transacted by their department. These charges are paid by

the colonial governments for services rendered ; they have been and may be adjusted from time to time so as to make the Agency self-supporting ; and no part of the cost is voted by Parliament. The present scale of charges is as follows :

1. A commission of one per cent. on all stores obtained through the Agency.

2. A fixed contribution, varying in amount, according to the volume of transactions, from colonies whose general financial business exceeds £10,000 a year.

3. A commission of one-half per cent. on the issue and repayment of loans, and one-quarter per cent. on the payment of interest.

4. On all overdrawn accounts bank rate of interest is charged with a *minimum* of three per cent. The department receives from brokers a return of half the brokerage on investments made through them.

The proceeds of these charges form a fund out of which are defrayed the salaries of the Crown Agents and their staff and the cost of maintenance of their office. There is a widespread impression in the minds of the general public, especially in the colonies, where it leads to much confusion and misunderstanding, that the Crown Agents depend for the amount of their personal incomes on commissions, percentages, brokerages, and similar transactions, and that they "make expenditure" to swell these charges. The fact is that the Crown Agents have no initiative authority in the matter of expenditure. They act only on instructions and requisitions for the issue of which the Governors of Crown

colonies and protectorates are responsible. Moreover, they are remunerated by fixed salaries in exactly the same way as the members of the permanent Civil Service of the Crown, and their emoluments no more vary with the revenue of their office than do the emoluments of the Treasury officials with the revenue of the United Kingdom. In fact the revenue and expenditure of the Crown Agents are dealt with on exactly the same lines as the public revenue and expenditure. Any excess on the transactions of a year is carried to a reserve fund, which serves to cover deficits that have occasionally occurred. Should it become necessary, in order to secure a steady equilibrium, the Secretary of State can from time to time revise the scale of charges as has been indicated.

A nominal list of the establishment of the Crown Agents' Office is published annually in the Colonial Office List. All their accounts are audited either by the colonial Governments or by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, and an abstract of their office accounts is rendered annually to the Secretary of State.

The transactions of the agency may be grouped under three heads: (1) Commercial; (2) Banking; (3) Miscellaneous.

Their commercial business includes the supply of all stores, which cannot be procured locally, required by the various governments and protectorates for which they act. Their most important transactions are on behalf of the departments of public works, railways, and harbours. For the departments of public works they buy the materials

for the construction of buildings, roads, and bridges, structural ironwork, pipes and water fittings, Portland cement, machinery and engineering appliances of all kinds, including all requirements for telegraphs and other uses of electric power. For the railways they purchase permanent way materials, locomotives, and rolling stock of every description ; and steamers, dredgers, boats, and lighthouse apparatus for harbours. Next in importance are the requirements of the Post Office and the preparation of stamps, the supply of hospital and laboratory stores, and the equipment of the police and local military forces. It is often urged with impatience that the harvest of the vast estates we are developing is falling into the hands of foreign traders and foreign shipping ; but so far as the Colonial Office can control this tendency the Crown Agents are able to secure for British firms and British shipping an enormous volume of business which would otherwise be diverted. When important public works, such as railways, harbour works, drainage and water schemes, etc., are projected in the Crown colonies, all business connected with them in the United Kingdom is entrusted to the Crown Agents. This includes all correspondence with the consulting engineers, arrangements for preliminary surveys, preparation and passing of contracts, and advising the Secretary of State and the colonial Governments on any points of interest or importance which may arise.

In no department of their activity have the Crown Agents rendered greater service to the colonies than in the business of banking.

It is impossible for me to give a detailed account of the transactions of the Crown Agents with the colony of Mauritius as bankers during a long period of financial difficulties extending from 1892 to 1903. Apart from temporary advances, they negotiated fixed term loans on terms which could not have been obtained through any other agency.

I give in an appendix a general statement of some principal transactions during the period. Only one short term loan was negotiated and repaid while I was in Mauritius. In a despatch to the Secretary of State, I showed with what advantage to the colony it had been carried through by the Crown Agents :

Government House,
Mauritius, 19th May, 1899.

“SIR,

“With reference to my telegram of the 29th ultimo and to the despatches noted in the margin, I have the honour to transmit, herewith, a copy of a statement showing the transactions of the advances made to planters under Ordinance No. 2 of 1898.

“It will be seen that a net profit of Rs. 20,969.57 accrues to the Colony.

“The success of this interesting experiment has depended on :

- (a) The facilities obtained through the office of the Crown Agents for raising money in England for short terms to be applied to the advances.
- (b) The uninterrupted communication with London by telegram.

“Advances made to planters were to bear interest only for the precise number of days during which they remained unpaid to the Treasury, and these periods could not of course correspond precisely with the periods for which funds were raised by the Crown Agents.

“In accordance with the system adopted advances were made to the planters at many different times and for many different periods while the total amount borrowed by the Crown Agents was borrowed at three different periods and at different rates, the average rate being 3.37 per cent. The annexed return estimates the profit on this basis.

“For the services rendered by the Crown Agents in the matter of this loan, I have the honour to request that you may be good enough to convey to them the thanks of my Government and of the Colony.

“I have, etc.”

I gladly avail myself of this as of every occasion to express my sense of the particular services thus rendered to the colony. Similar service has been done in British Guiana, and my experience leads me to believe that the assistance which the local Governments are placed in a position to afford in times of crisis through the Crown Agents appreciably fortifies the security of the colonial banks. In illustration of their services as bankers, I may mention that neighbouring colonies, in remote parts of the Empire, find it more convenient to adjust their accounts through the office of the Crown Agents in London than by direct transactions.

The miscellaneous business of the Crown Agents includes the payment of salaries, pensions, widows' and orphans' funds, transactions connected with bills of exchange, the management of sinking funds, deposits, temporary advances, the adjustment of accounts between colonial Governments and the General Post Office in respect of postage and money orders, and many other similar operations. In 1909 salaries were paid to 2,500 colonial officials on leave of absence and to 1,600 colonial pensioners. Most of such payments are made monthly.

In 1901 an inquiry into the working of the Office was instituted by Mr. Chamberlain. In the course of this inquiry all the Crown colony Governments as well as the High Commissioners of protectorates were invited to give the result of their experience and to offer their opinions and criticisms. On the evidence thus obtained the Secretary of State went exhaustively into the general question of the position and functions of the office and the details of procedure in the conduct of its business. He then considered what changes might usefully be introduced to meet suggestions and criticisms. It was fortunate that the inquiry was completed before Mr. Chamberlain's resignation of office, and that he was able to deal with the points raised in the correspondence and to state the conclusions at which he arrived. It will be generally allowed that few, if any, Colonial Secretaries have been, or are likely to be, so admirably qualified to deal with a business inquiry of this sort as Mr. Chamberlain. Taking the whole range of business, commercial, banking,

and miscellaneous, into account, Mr. Chamberlain came to the conclusion that the system had worked exceptionally well, and that the Crown Agents had by able, upright, and single-minded service deserved the confidence of the Crown colonies and of successive Secretaries of State. Some changes of procedure designed to facilitate business between the colonial Governments and the Crown Agents were carried into effect.

Meanwhile the business of the Crown Agents has for many years been steadily increasing, and the office was in 1903 transferred from the inadequate accommodation offered by a part of the Colonial Office into buildings in Whitehall Gardens, specially reconstructed to meet their requirements. The entire cost of reconstruction was defrayed out of the reserve fund of the department. The staff now, in 1910, numbers 226.

The incidence of the burden of Africa has fallen with exceptional weight on the office of the Crown Agents, but no department of the State has proved itself better able to bear the strain. The Parliamentary session of 1904 was marked by much criticism of public departments, arising out of the South African War, and the criticisms of the Crown Agents' Office had no doubt their origin mainly in the magnitude of their transactions in South Africa. The complaints were many, but of such a nature that Mr. Lyttelton was able to declare, that while he had always been willing to investigate any specific causes of complaint brought against the Crown Agents, it was most remarkable, considering the enormous magnitude of their transactions, that no specific

instance of the kind complained of had ever been brought against them.

Nevertheless complaints continued to be the subject of constant interpellations in Parliament, and in 1908 Lord Crewe appointed a Committee, of which Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was Chairman, to inquire into and report on the Crown Agents' Office. The inquiry was, in the first instance, concerned with the organisation of the office, but the Committee decided to receive evidence as to the nature of the work performed, the system of organisation adopted to carry it out, and how far it was satisfactorily performed. It had frequently been urged that the inquiries held by Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Lyttelton had been biassed by official partiality; and for this reason, no doubt, the Committee included members who could by no possibility be suspected of undue partiality in favour of the office. And the same may be said of the witnesses called to give evidence. Apart from the staff of the Colonial Office, no witnesses were called for the Crown Agents, who moreover were not allowed to be present during the inquiry. Among the Governors and High Commissioners consulted by Mr. Chamberlain there were many who could have borne testimony to the splendid services rendered by the Crown Agents. But while the three ex-Governors called were unanimous in declaring their general satisfaction with the financial and commercial work of the office, two of them were apparently called to allow them to submit more or less specific complaints, and the other to advocate a system of open local

contracts in substitution of the Crown Agents' system. On the whole, it was to the great advantage of the Crown Agents that these witnesses were called. But undoubtedly the evidence most favourable to them was that of the hostile witness, Mr. (now Sir) John David Rees. Mr. Rees gave evidence on the subject of the execution of a contract for the construction of a railway in Nyassaland, by a company of which he was a director, and urged that the Crown Agents had insisted with too great severity on the terms of the contract. A question addressed to him by Mr. Harris of the Colonial Office, and his reply, were very instructive :

"Do you not think that the Governor of the Colony, who is responsible to the Secretary of State, and is a man, as you know, of high position and character, has, speaking generally, a responsibility, which he is bound to exercise for the future of the Colony?"

"Certainly, at the expense of the Colony or of the taxpayer in general, but not at the expense of a contracting Company."

His complaint was typical of the great body of complaints that have for years been made against the Crown Agents, that they exact too high a standard of quality and efficiency from contractors. To exact a high standard of quality and efficiency is the *raison d'être* of the office as a commercial agency. The records of the Colonial Office could produce abundant evidence of the peril to which local Governments have been exposed by the methods of local contractors when the field of competition is strictly limited. I refer more especially

to contracts for materials used in works of construction, as, for instance, timber and Portland cement. Default in such contracts cannot be made good by penalty, and the delay in replacing condemned stores in remote colonies is a source of danger of which persons living in the United Kingdom can hardly form an idea. Default in the case of contracts for the supply of coal for railway and steamer services has led to even graver consequences. Lord Crewe, in a Circular Despatch transmitting the report to the Governors of Crown colonies and others, paid the highest compliment to the Crown Agents in pointing out that "the conclusion of the Committee with regard to the position and functions of the Crown Agents and their office and of the Crown Agents' Office and Reserve Funds coincide with the views which have been held and stated in public documents by successive Secretaries of State."

The Committee made recommendations for some improvements in the organisation of the office, which have been carried out by the Crown Agents. On these I desire to make no comment. I have only to add my firm opinion, that in view of the responsibility of the Imperial Treasury, in the final resort, for the financial stability of the Crown colonies, the position of the Crown Agents acquires really Imperial significance, and it may be said without exaggeration that "their able, upright, and single-minded service," to use the words of Mr. Chamberlain, constitutes a national asset.

CHAPTER XXII

TRANSPORT

IT has been seen that the services rendered by the Crown Agents' Office are mainly connected with facilities of exchange between the United Kingdom and the Crown colonies, and facility of exchange includes, of course, facilities of transport. The harvest of fertile lands cultivated with industry, however indefatigable, by methods however intelligent and appropriate, may be rendered worthless by cost of conveyance to market. In these days of swift communication by steam and electric power we are apt to forget how recent has been the transition from transport by manual labour to transport by animal portage, from animal portage to animal draught, from animal draught to mechanical draught. In many of the Crown colonies the earlier methods are still mainly employed, but progress has been rapid. And the progress has been made possible only by the system of expenditure on public works charged to loan account. The negotiation of loans for this purpose has been, as we have seen, a principal business of the Crown Agents. Facilities of transport for the development of our tropical estates will

be largely dealt with in a chapter treating of expansion in British Guiana ; and in regard to that colony I need only here say that the period of territorial expansion was immediately preceded by a period of activity in the construction of public roads within the small area beneficially occupied on the sea-coast. This activity was chiefly due to the energy of Sir Henry Irving during his tenure of the Government between 1882 and 1887. It was of great advantage at the time to the area within which it served to reduce the cost of production by concentrating the population.

In the Windward Islands transport was almost entirely by manual or animal portage prior to 1885, when Sir Walter Sendall advocated and carried out in Grenada a vigorous policy of road construction, in combination with an equally vigorous policy of developing the resources of the colony by the establishment of a botanical garden for the promotion of improved methods of agriculture and the introduction of new plants and products. The policy of road construction was logically extended to the improvement of the coasting trade by the maintenance of an efficient service of steamers. The beneficial results that have followed this policy are an enduring testimony to Sir Walter Sendall's judgment and foresight.

The policy of Sir Walter Sendall was continued by his successor, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson. On the first occasion of his meeting the Legislature, he declared that he considered the construction of roads and efficient means of communication to be the first object of concern to the colony. The main

roads in course of construction were completed ; many neglected minor roads were reconstructed to connect the inland area of cultivation with the main roads ; and new roads were provided in order of importance as means and opportunity allowed. The policy was extended to the establishment of direct steam communication with New York, to develop the cocoa and fruit industry, and the improvement of the harbours.

In 1893 I succeeded Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, and there was no interruption of policy. But, coincidently with the main object of improved means of transport by road and sea, there had been carried out a very complete system of communication by telephone, to which I shall refer again. There had also been a liberal expenditure on the construction of water works and public buildings. The time had now come when provision had to be made for a considerable annual charge for interest and the redemption of the debt accumulated for these purposes.

My predecessors had advised that, for the part of the debt incurred in establishing an adequate system of transport, provision should be made by an export duty. This advice had been given in view of the conditions in which agriculture was carried on. During a period of some fifteen years preceding January, 1885, changes in the agricultural system of the island, originally brought about by the emancipation of the slaves, had been rapidly progressing. Sugar having ceased to be a remunerative article of export under the conditions of labour in Grenada, numbers of estates had been abandoned,

and, after an interval, sold out in small lots to the former labourers, who cultivated them in cocoa and spices. The change that had gradually taken place can best be estimated by comparing the exports of sugar and cocoa in 1846 with those of 1881. In 1846 there were exported 9,196,538 lb. of sugar and 374,686 lb. of cocoa; in 1881 the exports included 5,864,090 lb. of cocoa and nearly 100,000 lb. of spices, as against 2,038,712 lb. of sugar. In 1893 the value of sugar exported was £731; of cocoa, £281,004; of spices, £14,605. In 1894 the value of sugar exported fell to £50.

The advice of my predecessors had been overruled by the Colonial Office, and in 1887 an ordinance for the levy of export duties had been disallowed. In the interval, however, the charges on account of public debt had been very largely increased, and I could see no way to put the finances of the colony in a sound position except that advised by my predecessors, and supported by the almost universal wish of the colony, apart from a small group of absentee proprietors. Accordingly an ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council, but was promptly disallowed on the ground "of the well-known strong objection of Her Majesty's Government to export duties." No other reason was assigned, except that a similar ordinance had been previously disallowed.

My position at the time was in accordance with precedent and the traditions of the Colonial Office. In the year 1842 a tariff was enacted by the Legislature of Jamaica, which, on being sent home, was found to violate the economic principles of Free-

trade recently adopted in the United Kingdom. An angry despatch informed Lord Elgin, then Governor, that it was disapproved, and that nothing but an apprehension of the financial embarrassments that must ensue prevented it from being disallowed. In terms almost amounting to a reprimand Lord Elgin was instructed to exercise the influence of his office in opposing similar enactments, and it was added: "If, unfortunately, your efforts should be unsuccessful, and if any such Bill should be presented for your acceptance, it is Her Majesty's pleasure that you withhold your assent from it." The substance of Lord Elgin's reply is recorded in his *Letters and Journals*. He represented that the duties in question were not found injuriously to affect trade, while they were needed to meet the expenditure; that the Legislature was extremely jealous in the matter of taxation; and that "while sensible that the services of a Governor must be unprofitable if he failed to acquire and exercise a legitimate moral influence in the general conduct of affairs, he was at the same time convinced that a just appreciation of the difficulties with which the Legislature of the island had yet to contend, and of the sacrifices and exertions already made under the pressure of no ordinary embarrassments, was an indispensable condition of his usefulness." On this representation the peremptory command above quoted was withdrawn.

The question of refusing to allow a colony to raise revenue, by methods appropriate to its circumstances and the conditions of its environment, on the ground of a general objection entertained by the

Home Government is one which strikes at the very root of our colonial policy. I need, therefore, make no apology for reproducing the reasons I urged for reconsideration in a despatch to the Secretary of State.

Grenada,
8th February, 1894.

“The proposal to impose export duties on cocoa and spices involving questions of great and permanent importance, I will ask leave to submit for your Lordship’s consideration the reasons which seemed to the Government and the Legislature of the colony to justify the proposal.

“Although I was well aware of the strong objection of Her Majesty’s Government to export duties as a means of raising revenue for general purposes, I was not aware that this objection extended to export duties raised for a specific purpose falling within the range of a well-defined fixed principle. This I may state as, the appropriation of the proceeds of export duties on agricultural products to purposes intended to reduce the cost of production, and to enable a colonial producer to compete on advantageous terms with the producers of other countries. In proposing a measure based on this principle, I could not but believe that I was acting in accordance with the policy of Her Majesty’s Government, inasmuch as in nearly all the colonies where the fiscal arrangements are under the complete control of Her Majesty’s Government the principle has been admitted in practice. I have

always conceived that it was in accordance with the principle I have indicated that export duties have in the West Indies and elsewhere been appropriated to Immigration purposes, and I considered it a logical consequence that where the authorised appropriation of the duties to Immigration purposes has ceased to meet the wants and wishes of a colony, the appropriation to another specific purpose falling within range of the same principle might reasonably be approved.

“I was confirmed in this impression by the terms of the Secretary of State’s despatch No. 193, of December 14th, 1887, to which your Lordship has alluded. In that despatch Lord Knutsford said, ‘I cannot sanction the application of the export duty, which was imposed exclusively for Immigration purposes, for the general expenditure of the colony.’

“Your Lordship will allow me to point out that, since the passing of the law authorising the raising of an export duty on sugar for Immigration purposes, many of the conditions affecting the cultivation and tenure of land in Grenada have completely changed :

- (1) The export duty on sugar for Immigration purposes has ceased to have a *raison d’être*, inasmuch as sugar has almost entirely ceased to be grown for export. Nearly all the produce of the sugar-cane grown in the colony is consumed in the colony, and a large portion of it in the form of rum.
- (2) The introduction of Immigrants under the Ordinance was a measure directly benefiting

only the capitalists, who were able to meet the considerable expenses of introduction, and in whose hands the sugar industry,—which constituted the chief agricultural interest of the colony—was held. At present the staple agricultural produce is cocoa, and this industry is largely in the hands of peasant proprietors, to whom the credit for the introduction of *cócoa* in substitution of sugar is chiefly due.

- (3) But the success of this enterprise has depended, and is dependent, on the construction and maintenance of roads and by-ways, to secure the cheap and easy conveyance of produce to a profitable market. What Immigration was intended to be in this colony, and is elsewhere, as a factor in reducing the cost of production of sugar, that, and more than that, the roads of Grenada are as a factor in reducing the cost of production of cocoa. The importance of this question has been fully recognised by my predecessors, who have proposed, in accordance with the general wishes of the community, to establish a Road Fund, *apart from the general revenue of the Colony*. It was the intention of this Government, to carry out this proposal by the establishment of a Road Fund on exactly the same principles as the Immigration Fund.

“In these circumstances, after the most careful consideration, it appeared to me that the terms

of Lord Knutsford's despatch were perfectly consistent with the approval by your Lordship of an export duty appropriated for a purpose strictly limited by the principle on which I understood the appropriation for Immigration purposes to have been justified.

"In the construction which I ventured to place on Lord Knutsford's despatch I felt myself confirmed by his Lordship's action in a closely analogous case. After the passing of the M'Kinley Tariff and subsequent Treaty arrangements, the Combined Court of British Guiana appropriated a part of the acreage tax on sugar estates to recoup the general revenue for the loss of duty on imports exempted to meet the requirements of the Treaty arrangements. This appropriation was objected to by the West India Committee who appealed to the Secretary of State to disallow the tax ordinance, on the ground that the acreage tax had been imposed exclusively for immigration purposes. Lord Knutsford was good enough to refer the correspondence to me, and I defended the action of the Combined Court on the ground that the appropriation was made for the specific purpose of reducing the cost of placing British Guiana sugar on the American market. The principle involved was the transfer of a tax on produce originally raised for the purpose of reducing the cost of cultivation to the purpose of making arrangements necessary to reduce the cost of placing sugar on the market, and closely analogous to the principle I am vindicating. Lord Knutsford declined to disallow the ordinance.

“In these preliminary remarks I have endeavoured only to satisfy your Lordship that in the matter of the export duties I had reasonable ground to believe that the proposals of my Government would be found in accordance with the views of her Majesty’s Government and the action of your Lordship’s predecessor.

“I will now briefly indicate the reasons which led me to believe that the measure proposed, considered on its merits as affecting the interests of the colony, was likely to prove beneficial.

“I have already observed that the Road Fund contemplated by this Government follows the lines of the Immigration Fund established here and elsewhere. This Fund is usually maintained from three sources :

A general tax on sugar estates (either by way of land tax or export duty) ;

A contribution by way of indenture fee on each immigrant allotted to an estate, or, in other words, a payment proportionate to the share of advantage directly accruing to the individual planter ;

A contribution from general revenue.

“The scheme proposed by this Government for the maintenance of a Road Fund does not differ, in principle, from these arrangements. It was proposed to maintain the Road Fund by—

1st.--A house and land tax ;

2nd.—An export duty as an equivalent to a graduation of the land tax in proportion to the value of the lands in cultivation ;

3rd.—A contribution from general revenue.

“As regards the second of these sources of revenue, your Lordship has urged that ‘the objects may be secured by less objectionable expedients.’ I feel sure that your Lordship will do me the justice to believe that my aim has been to secure the object in view by the expedients which seemed to me and to my advisers the least open to objection from the point of view of the particular circumstances of the colony.

“For a just appreciation of the proposed scheme, it is necessary to take into account some principal conditions affecting the cultivation and tenure of the lands of Grenada. The lands of Grenada may be divided generally into four classes :

Lands in cocoa cultivation.

Lands in nutmeg cultivation.

Lands in sugar cultivation.

Remainder lands in other cultivation, and pasture lands.

“The problem to be solved is the adjustment of the incidence of taxation in fair proportion to the value of these four classes of land. Under the existing laws all four classes, with the exception of a part of those I have classed as remainder lands, are subject to the same acreage tax. The inequality of incidence under the existing laws is fairly represented in a petition addressed to my predecessor on February 14th, 1892, and signed by all the principal representatives of the sugar interest as well as by others. I annex a copy of this petition.

“A very low estimate of the average net annual profit from lands in full bearing cocoa cultivation, at present prices, would be from £12 to £15 an

acre; of lands in full bearing nutmeg cultivation from £30 to £40 per acre; as regards lands in sugar cultivation I cannot do better than refer your Lordship to the petition I have alluded to; the lands I have classed as remainder lands are to a very large extent on the margin of cultivation or beneficial occupation. It is of the essence of the proposed scheme that the land tax should be fixed with particular reference to the lands on the margin of cultivation, so that they may continue to be beneficially occupied and not thrown out of cultivation by the burden of a tax beyond their capacity to bear. As regards the lands under cultivation in sugar, I have already shown that, with the exception of a small quantity of sugar consumed in the colony, and a smaller quantity exported, the product of these lands is manufactured into rum, and, in determining the incidence of taxation which they may reasonably be called upon to bear, it must be remembered that rum is heavily taxed for the use of the general revenue. This taxation, of course, indirectly affects the value of the lands in sugar cultivation. The produce of lands in cocoa and nutmeg cultivation is, with the exception of a very small quantity, exported from the colony, and it is essential to consider that the conditions of cultivation of these products differ widely from the conditions attaching to the cultivation of cereals, sugar, and other agricultural produce forming a large factor in colonial commerce.

“As regards lands under cultivation in cocoa and nutmegs; in the case of cocoa four or five years are necessary before any profit at all,—except such as is derived from the subsidiary cultivation of bananas

or other plants among the cocoa—is obtained, and from ten to fifteen years before a plantation is in full bearing; in the case of nutmeg, ten years must elapse before any profit can be expected, and many more years before the trees are in full bearing. The effect of the scheme proposed by this Government would be that land under cultivation in cocoa or nutmeg would pass from the trifling burden imposed by the acreage tax on uncultivated land, or land on the margin of cultivation, under a progressively increasing burden adjusted automatically to the measure of the increasing yield. Lands under experimental cultivation, with a view to testing the adaptability of the soil and climate to new agricultural industries, would fall under the same favourable conditions, and it is in every way in the interest of the colony that this should be the case. In this way every reasonable inducement would be offered for the extension of the area of cultivation, both by capitalists and by peasant proprietors.

“It has been the policy of this Government for some years to facilitate the tenure of land by peasant proprietors, and, so far as these are concerned, an export duty is a burden which can be adjusted to the back much more easily than a high land tax. In tropical colonies agriculture is even more subject than elsewhere to sudden vicissitudes of fortune from meteorological and other causes. Now a proprietor with little or no capital beyond his land and his capacity for labour is by the very nature of an export tax relieved from the burden on his land in proportion to the comparative failure of his crop. In the case of a tax assessed on the value of his land

it is otherwise. Crop or no crop, the tax has to be paid, and, if he has no means of paying his tax, he must either apply to the usurer or at once forfeit his land. Long experience proves that the final result is the same. It may be urged that the expenses of road maintenance will continue whether the harvest be good or bad. That is, of course, admitted, but it does not necessarily follow that the failure of individual crops must mean a failure of the harvest throughout the colony. In view, however, of the possibility of a generally bad harvest, my predecessor proposed that, if the Road Fund can get itself established, twenty per cent. should be laid aside to meet the ungenial seasons of adversity which are almost sure from time to time to occur. I concur in this prudent proposal.

“In considering the question of an export tax for the specific purpose in view, I did not omit to consult a document to which I naturally attach great importance, the report of the Royal Commissioners appointed in December, 1882. I felt it my duty very carefully to consider how far their objections to export duties for general purposes of expenditure might be pertinent to the proposal under consideration. It has, of course, to be borne in mind that the Commissioners, when making recommendations, in favour of abolishing export duties in the Windward Islands, were considering fiscal arrangements intended to be common to the four islands of the group, which they proposed to unite into one colony.

“It does not follow that a measure which may be accepted in making fiscal arrangements for a group

of islands as being on the whole the best, taking into account the interests of each, must be considered as the best when the interests of one only have to be considered. In matters of taxation affecting the complex interests of a community there is nothing more certain than that what may be true of the whole collectively is not necessarily or even generally true of the parts individually.

“Taking due account of the circumstances in which the recommendation I have referred to is made, I find in part I., paragraph 350, the reasons for abolishing export duties summarised as follows:

“350. Export duties are objectionable on principle, unless they are levied on articles for which a country has a practical monopoly of supply, and this cannot be said of West Indian produce.

“Many planters, however, prefer these duties to other modes of raising funds for immigration purposes, on the plea that the tax bears a fixed proportion to their annual receipts. It is, however, necessary to remember that the expenses for which these duties are to provide remain the same whatever the crop may be, and must be paid by the planter out of the income of his business, whether the charge be levied on his hogsheads and puncheons on the wharf, or on his land, his sugar works, his still, or his stock.

“These duties are costly in collection, and trade is hampered by strict rules that have to be laid down as to times and places of

shipment, and we are decidedly of opinion that in the interest of the revenue no less than of trade in general, and the planting industry in particular, it is advisable no longer to levy export duties."

"The principle upon which a general objection is based is not stated in the first clause of this paragraph, but the reference to a 'practical monopoly of supply' clearly indicates the proposition that an export duty, except when there is a practical monopoly of supply, by increasing the cost of production,—including in this term the cost of carrying commodities to market—places the colonial producer at a disadvantage in foreign markets in competition with producers elsewhere. This objection might be urged against every form of taxation directly or indirectly affecting the agricultural producer. But admitting the objection in principle, it must surely lose whatever force it might otherwise possess when the export duty is appropriated solely to reducing the local cost of production of a commodity.

"It is on this very ground, as I apprehend, that an export duty as an expedient for raising money for Immigration purposes has been generally admitted by Her Majesty's Government, and as regards the second clause of the paragraph I need, therefore, only refer to what I have said in the 15th paragraph of this despatch as applicable to the point raised.

"The objections stated in the final clause of the paragraph are certainly not applicable as objections to the proposal recently made by this Government.

“The method of collection of the export duty would have entailed no additional cost whatever, and would have required no restriction as to time and place of shipment; because the whole cocoa and nutmeg crop is exported to foreign markets from ports of call frequented by two or three lines of steamers, and is shipped by agents resident at these ports who are legally responsible to the Government for the payment of the export duty after the departure of the steamer. In fact, a principal argument in favour of the export duty was the cheapness and facility of collection.

“Such are, in brief, the considerations which determined me in favour of the scheme submitted to the Legislative Council in December last, and approved by an almost unanimous vote. In the Legislative Council there was at the commencement of the deliberation a strong feeling expressed in favour of an assessment graduated on the value of land, but the objections to this proposal which had already been considered by the Government seemed insurmountable. They were, briefly, the extreme difficulty of obtaining an assessment which would be accepted as satisfactory and impartial; the cost and trouble of assessment, of decisions on appeal, and of collection; the difficulty which small proprietors would have in paying the assessment in a bad season; and the probable expropriation of the very class which has, for some years, been the object of the Government to settle on the land.

“An equivalent to a graduated assessment is only likely to be found by an assessment on the value of the crop estimated annually by experts *in situ*, or by

an assessment on the crop gathered and prepared for market. The former method would, I fear, be open to nearly all the objections of a graduated valuation, and to others ; as regards the alternative expedient, it was the intention of the Government to adopt it in the way which seemed open to least objection.

“ In conclusion, I will ask your Lordship to consider the proposal put forward and the grounds upon which I entertained it, with reference solely to the present circumstances of the colony of Grenada. So far as I have made myself acquainted with the islands of the Windward group, I can easily conceive that fiscal arrangements applicable to one may be inappropriate, or even impossible, in others.

“ I have, etc.”

The reply was short. The Colonial Office has the tremendous power to decide questions of vital importance to a colony without appeal to the tribunal of reason.

Downing Street,
4th May, 1894.

“ SIR,—I have given very careful attention to the representations made in your despatch No. 23 of 8th February last in support of your proposals for the re-adjustment of taxation in Grenada.

“ Although I am unable to concur in your conclusions, and must adhere to the decision already conveyed to you, I appreciate the very great care and consideration which you have bestowed upon this question, and I am satisfied that you had no intention of setting aside the views of Her Majesty’s

Government on the principles of taxation which should be followed.

“I have, etc.,

“RIPON.”

After two years of continuous effort to reduce expenditure by amalgamation of administrative offices, and to meet the financial requirements of the colony without recourse to export duties, I decided to appeal to Mr. Chamberlain, who had succeeded Lord Ripon as Secretary of State. In my appeal I reviewed the principles of taxation which had guided me in the financial administration of the colony, and which I believed to be generally applicable to an agricultural Crown colony :

Grenada,

6th August, 1896.

“In view of the shrinkage of revenue from taxation already, as you are aware, raised to the straining point, I am endeavouring to effect every possible economy consistent with the absolutely necessary requirements of efficient administration ; and I am bound at the same time to consider whether the present incidence of taxation is equitable and impartial.

“The expenditure of the colony may be classed generally under four heads :

Administration of government.

Administration of justice.

Expenditure for charitable and beneficent purposes.

Public Works.

“Deferring for a moment the subject of administration of Government, it seems reasonable that, as regards the administration of justice in civil cases, the cost should be borne generally by the parties concerned. On the criminal side, including the cost of police and prisons, it seems not less reasonable that the expenditure should be met by taxes on intoxicating liquors, and in this respect the scheme of taxation in Grenada under which a considerable revenue is raised from this source seems to be justified.

“As regards charitable and beneficent expenditure, under which head I include the medical and educational services, I beg leave to refer to my speech to the Legislative Council of December 30th, 1895, of which for convenient reference I annex a copy. I have there endeavoured to justify the taxation of imported articles of general use and consumption on the ground that the proceeds of these taxes are to a very large extent appropriated to services rendered, through the agencies indicated, for the advantage of the general community made contributory to the scheme of taxation by the Customs Tariff.

“Coming now to the consideration of Public Works I have shown in my speech referred to above that out of an annual expenditure of approximately £60,000 about £10,000 is required to cover the cost of maintenance of roads, and the charges on account of the public debt raised for the construction or reconstruction of the roads.

“In a despatch addressed to the Secretary of State, No. 23, of February 8th, 1894, I dealt

with the question of taxation with a view to adjusting fairly the incidence of the burden of road maintenance and proposed an export tax. The Marquess of Ripon, while unable to concur in my conclusions, was good enough to express his appreciation of the very great care and consideration which I had bestowed on the question.

“If I am bold enough to implore you to reconsider the question of an export tax to be appropriated in aid of the expenditure on account of the public roads of Grenada, I can only urge that in the almost desperate financial position of the colony it seems absolutely necessary that the profits of the land should bear their share of the public burden imposed for the benefit of the land, and that in my belief the burden can by no other expedient be made to sit so easily on the shoulders that ought to bear it.

“In support of my proposal in favour of an export tax what little I have to add to the terms of my despatch of February 8th, 1894, will fall mainly under two heads :

- (1) The unequal incidence of the existing system of taxation in the colony ;
- (2) The difficulty and cost of an assessment graduated on the value of the land.

“In my despatch of February 8th, 1894, I refrained from dealing with the position of the absentee proprietors and the mortgagees to whom the produce is assigned as security for loans, and who are frequently to all intents and purposes absentee proprietors. Both these classes of persons are to a large extent exempted from taxation under a

system which here as elsewhere in the West Indies provides the bulk of the public revenue from duties of Customs on articles of general use and consumption and from taxes on liquor.

“On the subject of the position of the absentee proprietors, I beg leave to refer you to paragraphs 4 to 7 of my despatch, No. 157, of December 26th, 1895, in which I ventured to invite your attention to a recommendation made by the Royal Commission appointed in 1882, to the effect that ‘it would be equitable and satisfactory if local legislation were to provide taxes which would fall directly upon income and profits which are obtained in although not spent in the colony.’

“I beg leave again to refer to my speech to the Legislative Council in December last, in which I pointed out some of the difficulties which lie in the way of an assessed or graduated land tax.

.
“I have, etc.”

I add an extract from my speech on the subject of direct taxation. Every page of recent history in equatorial Africa confirms the justice of my views on the dangers of direct taxation in circumstances analogous to those that existed in the West Indies at the time of the Royal Commission's inquiry, and Sir Robert Hamilton's report.

‘The publication of Sir Robert Hamilton's report on Dominica has thrown a great deal of light on the subject, and has clearly shown the difficulty and danger of imposing on the mass of a West Indian population a new form or a shifting form of direct

taxation. It will readily be admitted that the difficulty must be aggravated if such a measure is suddenly resorted to in times of agricultural depression. The more anxiously I have studied the question the more difficult it seems to me to contend with the difficulties of assessment and collection. I have already referred to these difficulties in a despatch to the Secretary of State which was laid before you last year. The difficulty of a fair assessment is increased by the fact that the areas of landed properties here, as generally in the West Indies, are often of very unequal value, a certain portion of an estate yielding very high profits while the remainder may be unproductive waste. The collection of the tax can hardly fail to be onerous and expensive where the land is held in thousands of small holdings by a shifting proprietary. And above all there is the very strong objection to direct taxation inherent in the West Indian population as was pointed out by the Royal Commission of 1883, and as has been more conclusively shown in Sir Robert Hamilton's report. Even in countries the most advanced in political progress, it is probable that there are but few who really appreciate in the person of the taxgatherer the beneficent agency of a just and wise statesmanship. There cannot, I think, be any doubt that to the mass of the population in the West Indies the collection of direct taxes is not only directly hateful but has the effect of alienating the sympathies of the people from the Government and obscures their recognition of the advantages which, as I have endeavoured to show, the proceeds of taxation are devoted to conferring on them.

These are among the reasons which have decided us to prefer in the circumstances the scheme of taxation we propose ; but the question of a graduated tax on the land or of a measure in substitution of it is engaging my constant attention.'

Mr. Chamberlain's answer was prompt. I had asked for an early reply. It was sent by telegraphic despatch :

(Telegram)

"Referring to your Despatch No. 99, Grenada, consent to export duties."

I closed my despatch to Lord Ripon on the subject of export duties with the observation that fiscal arrangements applicable to one of the colonies in the Windward group might be inappropriate or even impossible in others. The observation was soon to be justified. Coincidentally with the expenditure on public roads in Grenada there had been in St. Lucia a very large expenditure of funds raised by loan for a different purpose. In St. Lucia the place of the sugar industry as a factor in the prosperity of the colony had to a large extent been taken by the shipping industry. The Imperial Government, for reasons which will be fully set out in a chapter of this work dealing with Colonial Defence, had decided to make St. Lucia a naval and military base and a fortified coaling station. To carry out this intention there had been a large expenditure on harbour improvements to which the Admiralty had contributed the grotesquely insignificant sum of about £5,000.

Coincidentally with the carrying out of the harbour improvements the colony had incurred a large expenditure for purposes more or less directly connected with the Imperial uses of the island as a fortified coaling station. Most of this expenditure had been incurred under instructions from the Colonial Office before I became Governor of the Windward Islands, but it fell to me, as in the case of Grenada, to provide for the payment of interest and sinking fund. A careful analysis of the expenditure of the colony on the principles explained in my despatch to Mr. Chamberlain on August 5th, 1896, forced me to the conclusion that while it was in the interest of the colony in general that the facilities of the port of Castries should be adequate to maintain its position as a coaling station of the first importance on the great ocean highway between North and South America, it was reasonable that the shipping to which the port was of such signal service should contribute to the burden of public expenditure. I proposed therefore to put a small import duty, sixpence a ton, on coal. It was not a new proposition; some years before a much larger duty had been suggested, but it had been successfully resisted by influences that had access to the Colonial Office; and I was well aware of the nature of the machinery that would be set in motion to oppose it again. In the first place, a motion for postponement was proposed in the Legislative Council. I knew well what that meant. It was to give time for pressure to be brought to bear on the Colonial Office. It was not pressed, but the desired delay was obtained in another way. The ordinance to

levy the duty was passed in December, 1895, and it was represented to me that the contracts with the shipowners for the supply of bunker coal for 1896 had already been signed, and that these contracts did not provide for the imposition of the duty. I had to consent to the insertion of a clause in the ordinance providing that the duty should not be collected until the first day of January, 1907. To have refused the concession would have been to supply the "influences" with a grievance which might have resulted in the disallowance of the duty altogether. And the disallowance of a duty after a commencement of collection has been made produces serious inconvenience. This has been illustrated recently in the United Kingdom by the "disallowance," if I may so call it, of the Budget of 1909 by the House of Lords. However, the "influences" did not move Mr. Chamberlain, and the duty was levied.

My narrative will suffice to show that during the most trying time of a long season of adversity in the West Indies, the Government of the Windward Islands recognised the paramount importance of facilities of transport, not only by inland roads and coasting steamers, but by means of communication with ocean highway routes to their markets in temperate regions. Grenada had direct communication with New York, while St. Lucia was a point of contact with ocean highways to Europe and America. I have also shown the methods by which it was found possible to provide these facilities without assistance from the Imperial Treasury. The Royal Commission sent to the West Indies in 1897 did not fail to appreciate the importance of supplying all

the islands with similar means of communication. They found that facilities of transport were a necessary corollary to the establishment of the Imperial Department of Agriculture for the development of West Indian resources, but that they could not be supplied without aid from the Imperial Treasury. On their recommendation services subsidised by the Imperial Government were established to carry on regular inter-insular communication and connect all the West India colonies with the United Kingdom, Canada, and America. Of these services I need only particularly mention the Imperial West India Direct Mail Service, aided by a subsidy of £40,000 from the Imperial Government and the colony, expressly for the conveyance of fruit. A few figures will show the rapid development of the fruit industry of the West Indies stimulated by this encouragement. In 1885 its value amounted to only £253,000; in ten years it had doubled, and in ten more had reached £1,250,000. The industry depends entirely on adequate means of transit, and its success was mainly due to the enterprise of one man, Sir Alfred Jones, who had a main hand in opening this new phase of commercial activity. In illustration of the possibilities of the tropical fruit industry in our colonies, it must be pointed out that while there is an enormous consumption of bananas and citrus fruits in the United Kingdom, a very small proportion of the import is derived from British sources. The annual value of citrus fruits imported into the United Kingdom is not less than £2,500,000, of which only a fraction comes from our own Empire.

I am illustrating the importance of adequate facilities of transport in the case of a minor industry. It is when we come to consider that the great staples of the world really come not from the temperate regions at all but from the tropics, that we realise the importance of facilities of transport between our Crown colonies and the United Kingdom. I have illustrated at some length the vital importance of the tropics to civilisation, and the part the Crown colonies are in consequence likely to play in the future. It may reasonably be hoped, then, that the question of adequate transport for our sea-borne commerce may force itself upon the attention of all concerned in the produce of the tropics, and that they will not consider their work done until the means of transport of our insular empire are made as cheap and convenient as the means of communication between the territorial stations of a continental empire.

While means of communication were being organised for the sea-borne trade of the West Indies, a policy not less wise and energetic was being carried out in West Africa by railways. The policy which, a quarter of a century before, had advocated the abandonment of all commercial enterprise in tropical Africa had been followed by a policy which recognised the enormous possibilities involved in opening West African territory to commerce and civilisation. Railway construction was a material guarantee of the sincerity of the new policy. The initiative was due to Lord Ripon, who ordered the preliminary surveys. The energy of Mr. Chamberlain, his successor, the hearty co-operation of those on whose technical knowledge the success of the work

depended, and the courage and endurance of those who bore the burden of the climate and the labour of construction, did the rest.

In 1898 there was not a mile of rail open to traffic. Five years later the *Statistical Abstract* for 1903 gave the following return :

	Miles open.	Receipts.	Working Expenses. ¹
Lagos - -	124	£48,986	£44,073
Gold Coast ² -	168	£65,965	£47,425
Sierra Leone -	136	£36,620	£31,925

The following abstract, drawn up in the Crown Agents' Office, shows the results of the working of the West African railways for the latest period of twelve months for which complete figures are at present available :

Colony.	12 months ended	Miles open.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
S. Nigeria (Lagos Rly.) }	31 Dec., '08	214.5 ³	£146,382	£103,425
Gold Coast -	31 Dec., '08	168	£154,024. 11s. 2d.	£75,124
Sierra Leone	31 Dec., '08	234 ⁴	£71,499	£67,643 ⁵

SOUTHERN NIGERIA : LAGOS RAILWAY

During 1908 and 1909 the Lagos Railway has been extended and opened to Ilorin, a distance of

¹ The working expenses do not include interest on capital.

² Half year only. The receipts from July 1, 1903, to June 30, 1904, were £141,941, and working expenses £91,112.

³ Mean mileage worked. 247 miles now open.

⁴ Mean mileage worked. The mileage now open is 255.

⁵ Exclusive of extraordinary expenditure, £14,052.

247 miles from Lagos. A further section of sixty-one miles from Ilorin to Jebba, on the Niger River, has also been built, and is now open for traffic. A traveller can take train at Lagos and travel by rail into the interior, a distance of just over 300 miles. At Jebba the railway will cross the Niger by means of a bridge, or rather two bridges, the river here being divided into two separate channels by Jebba Island. The bridge over the northern channel is already in course of construction. In order to carry the cross-river traffic pending completion of the bridges, a specially designed ferry (built by G. Rennie & Co., of Greenwich), capable of carrying four to six railway wagons, has been sent out and is already at work.

North of the Niger the construction of a further section of the railway to Zungeru, the present capital of Northern Nigeria and 123 miles from Jebba, is being proceeded with, and some few miles of rails have already been laid. The upper portion of this section, which should be completed within the next two years, is at present being re-surveyed with the view to obtaining an improved gradient.

BARO-KANO RAILWAY

The Northern Nigeria Government also are making good progress with the line which they are building from Baro on the Niger (about one hundred miles below Jebba) to Kano in the north of the protectorate, a distance of nearly 400 miles. This railway will be linked up with the Lagos Railway by means of a branch line between Minna and Zungeru.

GOLD COAST

The construction of a branch railway from Tarkwa (on the Sekondi-Kumasi main line) to Prestea, a distance of about twenty miles, was commenced in September, 1908, and progress has been generally satisfactory considering the rough country through which the line passes and the exceptional difficulties which have been met with at several of the bridge sites owing to floods. The line will, it is hoped, be open to traffic during the present year. From the terminus at Prestea a siding half a mile long is to be built to the Prestea Block A Company's mines. A branch two miles long, and taking off from the main branch at a point near the Ancobra River, is also being constructed to Broomassie. It is to be hoped that the whole of these works will be completed during 1910.

The construction of a railway from Accra to Mangoase, forty miles long, for the purpose of developing the agricultural wealth of the colony, especially the cocoa industry, was begun in January this year. The country through which this line passes is much easier than that traversed by the Tarkwa-Prestea Railway, and the rate of progress has therefore been better. It is anticipated that the line will be opened to traffic before this record is issued from the press. A point of interest as regards this railway is the fact that it is the first railway in British West Africa to be placed in the hands of a public contractor. Five tenders were received for the work, and Mr. W. M. Murphy, of Dublin, secured the order. The experiment is being

watched with interest. An extension of the line onwards from Mangoase has since been proposed, and the survey for it is now in progress.

SIERRA LEONE

Since the railway to Baiima (227 miles) was completed towards the end of 1905, the colonial Government has directed its attention to the making of roads and to the construction of two light branch or feeder lines connecting with the railway to extend the trading area influenced by the line. Of the two feeder lines, one runs from Baiima for a distance of seven miles and thirty chains to Pendembu, a place within a few miles of the Liberian frontier, and the other runs in a north-easterly direction from Boia (sixty-four miles from Freetown on the main line) to Mafokya, a distance of twenty-one miles and fifty chains. A proposal to extend the latter line to the palm country round Yonnibannah (thirty-eight miles) and onwards has not yet been sanctioned.

These feeder lines have been built upon the general standard of the railway, having the same gradients and curves, and they are now being worked as part of the open line system. The only important difference between them and the main line is the absence of telegraphs and stations.

The General Manager's report on the railway for 1908 shows that compared with the previous year there was an increase in passengers on the Mountain Section of the railway of twenty-seven per cent. This section, however, continues to be worked at a loss.

The African railways have been constructed

through dense tropical forest, in a deadly climate, which, in spite of every precaution in accordance with improved principles of malaria prevention, caused constant change in the staff of every grade; amid difficulties arising from heavy rainfall, from scarcity and inferiority of labour, from conditions under which cargo had to be landed, as on the Gold Coast, by surf boats and lighters on an open roadstead; while native revolts and military operations have interrupted and delayed the work.¹

A picturesque narrative of dangers and delays caused by the wild *fauna* of Africa is given, in his popular work *The Man-eaters of Tsavo*, by Lt.-Col. Patterson, an engineer engaged in the construction of the Uganda railway.

This chapter on problems of transport in the administration of our Crown colonies would be incomplete without some account of my experience of the extent to which transport by animal draught is affected by diseases of tropical origin. Allusion has already been made to an outbreak of the epizooty, known as *surra* in Mauritius in the year 1902. In order to preserve in this work a record of one of the gravest calamities that has ever affected agriculture in a tropical colony, and the energy by which it was met, I give extracts from official documents.

On May 12th, 1903, in opening the annual session of the Council of Government, I gave an

¹A Blue Book published in 1904, on the construction of African railways, contains an instructive memorandum on alternative systems of railway construction in undeveloped countries. It illustrates that the importance of transport facilities in the development of Crown colonies and places is fully recognised by the Colonial Office.

account of what had been done up to that date, and what was in contemplation.

“The months that have elapsed since the Prorogation of Council in December last have been months of labour and anxiety. . . . The work of transporting the canes and carrying the sugar has to be undertaken in the face of difficulties unprecedented in the history of the colony. Experience has perfected, on all the greater estates, economical and well organised arrangements for transport by animal draught, while the requirements of the small planters have been met, and the general business of carters and carriers has been carried on by the independent but intelligent industry of a laborious class of men drawn chiefly from the Indian population. Within a year the disease known as *surra* everywhere dislocated, and in some districts destroyed the established system. The consequences have affected not only the sugar industry and business more or less directly connected with it, but every department of public and private activity. In particular, serious difficulties have obstructed the work of sanitation both in urban and rural districts. The imperative task of creating a new system of transport in substitution for the established methods was all the more formidable inasmuch as, at the moment when the disease appeared, the financial prosperity of the sugar industry had been checked by other causes. In these circumstances the havoc caused by the disease produced a twofold difficulty ; funds were urgently required for the cultivation of the land for the incoming crop, and not less urgently required for the establishment of means

of transport, without which the crop could not be realised.

“So far as concerns the cultivation of the land during the critical period extending from December 1st to March 31st the peril was averted by the operation of the Sugar Estates (Advances in Aid) ordinance, which provided for advances to estates and *Baillleurs de fonds* out of a loan of £200,000 raised in England. There can be no doubt that the ready sanction given by the Secretary of State to this measure, and the prompt and indefatigable energy of the Loan Board Commissioners in respect of the distribution of the loan, saved the colony from imminent disaster. Nor was the action of the Government free from anxiety and difficulty, for the needs to be met were most pressing, and at the outset we were faced by the problem of how to make the proceeds of the loan raised in London immediately available in Mauritius. This difficulty had not presented itself in connection with the advances made to planters in 1898, because at that time specie payments were suspended and advances were made in currency notes. I was naturally averse to resorting to so extreme a measure as the temporary suspension of specie payments, and fortunately it was not necessary. The uninterrupted cultivation of the crop during the critical period of the hurricane season was thus secured. In the meantime, the substitution of mechanical for animal transport had been vigorously undertaken, and the amount of advances in aid of this work authorised by ordinance No. 34, of 1902, was increased from £70,000 to £220,000. The advances approved under this ordinance

provide for the purchase of about 450 kilometres of superficial tramway lines ; about forty kilometres of aerial wire tramways, and twenty-five automobiles. In addition the Government has assisted estates by the construction of seventeen sidings of a total length of about 14,000 feet in accordance with the terms of a resolution passed by the Council on June 17th, 1902. The special expenditure incurred during the year in order to meet the increased traffic diverted to the railway has been very large; it includes :

Four locomotives	-	-	-	-	Rs. 186,000.00
Enlargements to goods sheds	-	-	-	-	12,000.00
Eight miles rails	-	-	-	-	225,000.00
Fifty open wagons for canes	-	-	-	-	157,500.00
Traffic overtime from September to January,					
1903	-	-	-	-	16,913.39
Locomotive overtime from September to					
January, 1903	-	-	-	-	12,961.08
Crop expenses	-	-	-	-	14,480.00

“ It is hoped that what has been done will go far to meet the requirements of the larger estates, and will enable them to assist to a considerable extent the small planters having contiguous holdings, but in order to meet the wants of areas occupied by small planters not in proximity to the mills of the larger estates it has been decided to proceed at once with the construction of the projected Long Mountain Railway at an estimated cost of about 110,000 rupees, as well as with the construction of a light railway line in the district of Savanne designed to provide for the needs of a large area of land occupied by small planters. The estimated approximate cost of this light line is 60,000 rupees. The cost of these

lines it is proposed to charge partly to the revenue of the current year and partly to the revenue of 1903-1904. I have asked the Secretary of State to sanction a loan for the construction of the projected Black River Line, and further schemes of railway extension will be submitted to you.

“The foregoing measures provide chiefly for the wants of the rural districts. For the transport of grain and other merchandise from the quays to the railway station in Port Louis, three sidings are being constructed. It has been necessary also to make special provision for additional quay accommodation for the landing of tramway materials, and this has been effected by the removal of the workshops and other buildings at Caudan Basin to Plaine Lauzan, where all the railway works are now concentrated. Three additional sidings have also been constructed for the sanitary requirements of Port Louis, and another is being constructed for the same purpose.”

Four months later, on October 27th, in an address taking leave of the Council, I was able to declare that the plan of campaign thus sketched had been carried out successfully ;

“As regards the estates, their equipment with the means of mechanical transport has been generally completed in time for the needs of the current crop by an energy and industry beyond praise. From the Railway, Customs, and other Departments concerned, I believe the estates have received every possible assistance. As regards the extension of railway facilities, the Long Mountain and Savanne lines have been opened for traffic, the original trace of the Savanne project having been supplemented

so as to furnish transport for a much larger area of cane cultivation. The Black River line has been approved, and its construction is already far advanced. A large railway expenditure in excess of that indicated has been found necessary to meet the increased and increasing traffic.

“The actual amount of the advances to estates under the Mechanical Transport ordinance has fallen short of the estimate and of the sum authorised. The sum required to be raised by loan amounts to a little over £185,000. But this sum represents only a fraction of the expenditure borne by the estates; the advances having been limited to the cost of materials landed in Port Louis. The inland cost of transport and of construction of the tramways has been found by the estates from other sources.

“Such, in brief, are the measures undertaken to meet probably the most serious calamity that has ever befallen the sugar industry in this colony.”

I have only to add that in the result the estimates of expenditure were in some cases largely exceeded. In the circumstances that is hardly to be wondered at, though every endeavour was made to control it by the publication of fortnightly abstracts of expenditure. The increased expenditure added *pro tanto* to the burden of the consequences of the epizooty.

CHAPTER XXIII

METEOROLOGY

AMONG the problems of transport in tropical seas not the least important is the problem of the security of navigation from cyclonic disturbances. The position of the island of Mauritius on the track of navigation between South Africa and Asia has enforced the importance of the colony as a station for the study of the law of storms. Telegraphic cables have made it one of the most important units of the imperial systems of meteorological, magnetic, and seismometric observations. Some account of the Mauritius observatory therefore finds an appropriate place in association with the problems of transport and communication.

The history of the observatory up to the year 1896 is in reality the history of one man, Charles Meldrum, with whom the science of meteorology in Mauritius will ever be associated as the principal founder of the Meteorological Society and the Royal Alfred observatory. Occasional efforts had been made previously to establish a permanent observatory, but without success. Mr. Lislet Geoffroy conducted an important series of

magnetical and meteorological observations between the years 1786 and 1792, a résumé of which is given by M. Louis de Frécinet in his *Voyage autour du Monde* (Paris, 1827), and in 1830 Colonel Lloyd, then surveyor-general, established the first Government observatory. He erected a small building in Port Louis at the public expense, and fitted it up with a transit and magnetical and meteorological instruments. Observations were commenced on January 1st, 1832, and were continued with occasional breaks until Colonel Lloyd proceeded to England on leave of absence in October, 1837; on his departure from the colony in 1849 they ceased altogether.

On August 1st, 1851, the Meteorological Society of Mauritius was formed, at a meeting convened by Dr. Meldrum, then Professor of Mathematics at the Royal College. The first President was the Honourable C. J. Bayley, Colonial Secretary, with Lieut.-Colonel Robe, C.B., and Mr. F. Liénard as Vice-Presidents, and Messrs. Meldrum and Bousquet, Secretaries.

It is to this Society that the present Royal Alfred observatory owes its origin, after a long and determined fight for twenty-nine years against difficulties which would have daunted most societies, or, in this case, secretaries.

The Society's troubles commenced at the very outset. Of the two secretaries, one was a man possessing not only a concise knowledge of the science, then in its infancy, and of the means of filling these requirements, but also an extraordinary perseverance and tenacity of purpose, and gifted

moreover with reasoning and deductive faculties of a high order. The other was a meteorologist of unbounded enthusiasm, but unfortunately opposed to the method of investigation proposed by the Society, which was to collect and plot on a chart as many synchronous observations as possible, spread over the whole of the South Indian Ocean, and from them to study the circulation of the atmosphere, the distribution of pressure, temperature, etc.

On the formation of the Society the first difficulty that presented itself was in procuring an adequate equipment of instruments. The Admiralty at this time had expressed a cordial sympathy with the objects of the Society, and it was hoped that this sympathy would materialise in the form of a grant of the necessary instruments. That hope having been disappointed, the Society had to depend on its own resources. The instruments were ordered and received, but the Society had no building in which they could be placed. There followed seven years of controversy between the Society and the colonial Government before the instruments could be installed for use. In 1855, after an appeal by the Society to the Secretary of State, it was announced that "a despatch had been received which removed every obstacle and placed the Society in a far more advantageous position than it had ever yet enjoyed"; the Home Government having been pleased to place buildings at the entire disposal of the Society rent free, and the Admiralty having further voted an annual subsidy of £50, to enable it to publish the results of

its labours. It was now generally expected that the instruments would at length be turned to account, and the buildings made subservient to the purposes for which they were granted. In the meantime, however, Dr. Meldrum had ceased to have any official connection with the Society, and it was not till he was re-elected secretary in September, 1859, that the Society's instruments were properly installed and systematic observations commenced.

During this time observations were taken in the town of Port Louis, which is encircled by a range of mountains, so that the horizon was limited and the true direction of the wind could seldom be known. For ten years the question of a site for a new observatory was discussed, and eventually referred to a committee. The committee decided on a site on Crown Lands in the district of Pamplémousses, as most nearly fulfilling the necessary conditions for an observatory. It was on a plain at a considerable distance from any mountain range, and so presumably free from local magnetic attraction ; it had a good horizon to northward and a view to within three or four degrees of the horizon to southward. Moreover at the time the district was extremely healthy. A site having been selected and ways and means assured, Dr. Meldrum was authorised to proceed to England to procure new instruments and obtain plans for a new observatory. He returned to Mauritius in September, 1869, to find that in the meantime the district of Pamplémousses had become very unhealthy under the influences of the terrible epidemic of malarial fever. It now seemed possible that the object of

his life for twenty years, the erection of a permanent magnetic and meteorological observatory, might be indefinitely postponed. But the fever did not deter him from doing all in his power to secure the erection of the new observatory. Advantage was taken of the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to Mauritius to hasten operations, and on May 30th, 1870, the foundation-stone of the Royal Alfred observatory was laid by his Royal Highness. As a member of the Council of the Society I was present on this occasion, little thinking that thirty years later I was to have the honour as Governor of Mauritius to conduct her Majesty Queen Mary over the observatory. It was not, however, till November, 1874, that everything was ready for the installation of the instruments and the commencement of a series of observations which have continued with gradual amplification to the present day.

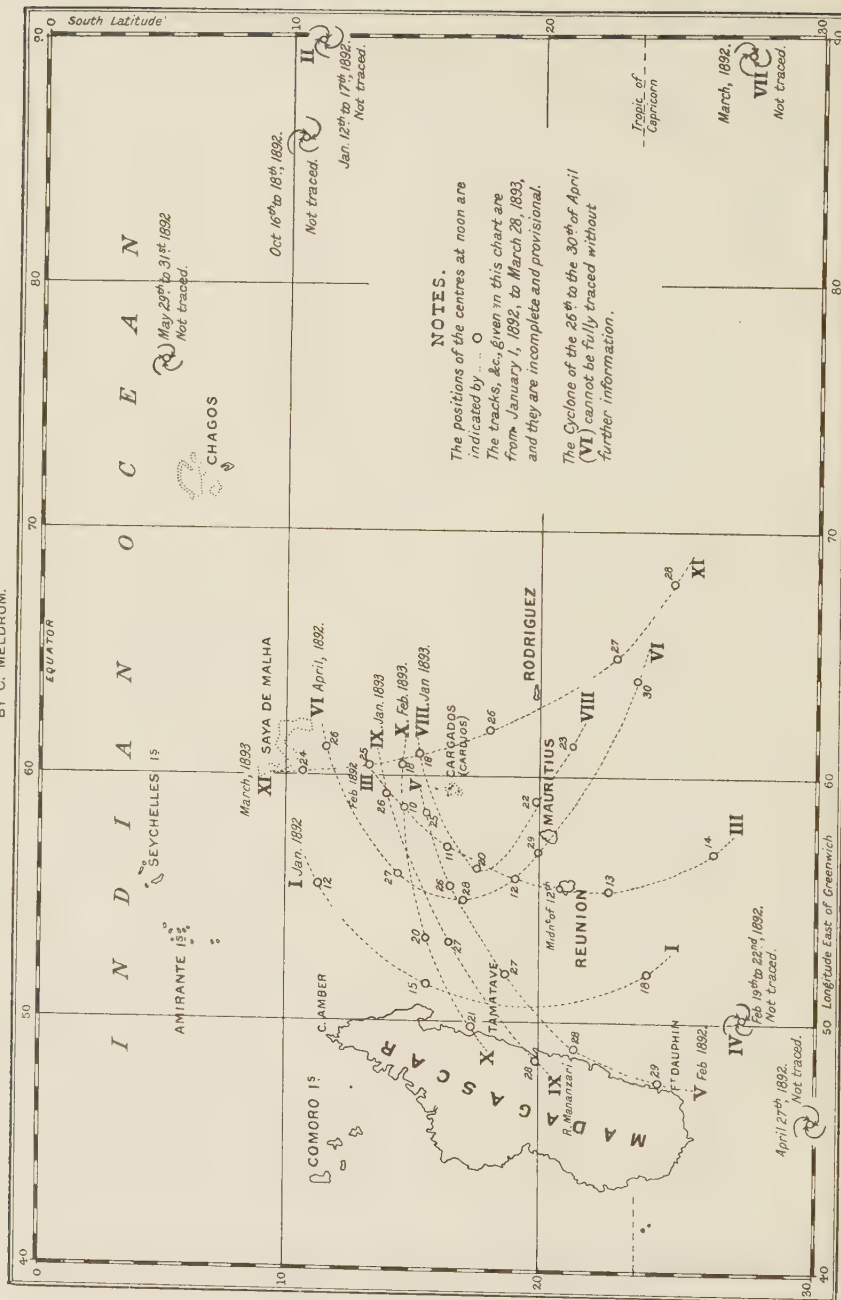
Dr. Meldrum's work in Mauritius had two main results in determining the law of storms. By study of the logs of ships traversing the Indian Ocean, and plotting on a chart the direction and force of the wind, the barometer reading, the temperature, the state of the sea-currents experienced by every vessel, as nearly as possible at Mauritius noon, on successive days, he obtained a series of weather charts, showing the horizontal circulation of the atmosphere with the barometric and temperature gradients from day to day. From these charts he discovered, and was one of the first to announce that the wind in cyclones blows spirally towards the centre and not in circles round it as was previously

supposed. The importance to navigation of this discovery may be illustrated by a single instance. On February 25th, 1860, in anticipation of a cyclone forty-one vessels left the roadsteads of the island of Réunion with sailing directions based on the then accepted theory that the wind within the area of a cyclone blows in circles round the centre. Of these vessels ten suffered only slight damage, three disappeared and were never heard of, three were wrecked on the coast of Madagascar, the remaining twenty-five sustained damage to the amount of about £150,000.

What Dr. Meldrum discovered by patient collection and discussion of facts has now been demonstrated theoretically as the only possible solution of the problem of the direction of the wind within the area of the cyclone. The other main result obtained from his study of the same charts was to establish the law of direction of cyclones in their path across the Indian Ocean. It was Dr. Meldrum's ambition to publish daily synoptic weather charts of the South Indian Ocean for a whole year, and the year 1861 was selected as particularly interesting on account of the frequency of cyclones. The work, however, proved laborious and costly, and daily synoptic charts for the first three months of the year only were published. These charts were followed by a storm atlas, showing the tracks of all known cyclones in the Indian Ocean from 1848 to 1885, published by the British Meteorological Society from Dr. Meldrum's studies. These works are still standards of reference, and the storm atlas is brought up to date by the same office on informa-

CYCLONE TRACKS IN 1892-93.

BY C. MELDRUM.



tion supplied by Mr. Claxton, the present Director of the observatory.

What the law of storms means to mariners in the Indian Ocean will be easily understood by reference to the accompanying chart prepared by Dr. Meldrum in 1893 showing the tracks of cyclones during a period of fifteen months. The curved arrows indicate the direction of the winds within the area of the cyclones. In the Southern hemisphere they whirl in the same direction as the motion of the hands of a watch, with a constant tendency to curve inwards towards the centre of lowest atmospheric pressure. In the Northern hemisphere they curve in a contrary direction.

On the results of Dr. Meldrum's studies in this department of work, on his synoptic charts, his storm atlas, his theory of the law of storms, and his rules for avoiding the tracks of cyclones are based the sailing directions issued to all mariners for the navigation of the Indian Ocean.

Dr. Meldrum next turned his attention to the subject of rainfall and cyclone periodicity, and was among the first to establish a connection between rainfall, cyclones, and solar activity. He subjected a large mass of observations on the rainfall from all parts of the world to a critical examination, and came to the conclusion that, in spite of occasional contradictions, the amount of rainfall varied with the solar activity, being greatest near the epoch of maximum sunspots, and least near the epoch of minimum sunspots. He found a similar connection between solar activity and the number and area of cyclones in the South Indian Ocean.

His researches on this subject have been used as a basis for other investigators, and recently Sir Norman Lockyer and his son, Dr. W. J. S. Lockyer, have treated the subject in a somewhat different and more detailed manner by using, instead of the variation in the number of sunspots, the variation in the relative quantities of different gases present in the sun, which shows a very striking agreement with the variation of rainfall from year to year.

Another branch of Dr. Meldrum's work was a study of the relation of rainfall to malaria. His theory that the prevalence of malarial fever varies with rainfall still holds good, the area of stagnant water and the multiplication of mosquitoes being largely affected by the amount of rainfall. His studies on this subject were followed by an important work on the relation of weather to mortality, and the climatic effects of forestation. The study of seasonal forecasts connected with this branch of the observatory's work has recently led to interesting discussions. From a comparison of the rainfall at Durban with that at Mauritius it was shown that well-marked winter droughts at the former station were followed by summer droughts at the latter, and that prolonged droughts at Natal were followed or accompanied by prolonged droughts at Mauritius, though there appears to be no such relationship as regards floods. Observations in this branch of work have now determined all the factors of the climate and are available for international use.

But valuable as was all this work, ocean telegraphy gave it a new significance. Cable communication with Europe was first established in 1893,

viâ Seychelles, Zanzibar, and Aden, but it was the opening of the Mauritius section of the Cape-Australian cable *viâ* Rodrigues and Cocos in 1902 that made the observatory one of the most important units in the imperial system of meteorological, magnetical, and seismometric observations. Both Rodrigues and Cocos are exceptionally situated for observing the track of cyclones, and the Company readily consented to transmit free weather cablegrams to Mauritius, on the understanding that they should not exceed four words. Both stations were supplied with the necessary equipment of barographs, anemometers, hygrometers, thermometers, and rain-gauges. The first telegrams were sent on January 1st, 1902, by means of a code which in four words gave the atmospheric pressure, the air and evaporation temperatures, the state of the weather and the amount of cloud at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. together with the daily run of the wind, maximum and minimum temperature, rainfall, and swell of the sea. Since 1905 the observations at Rodrigues and Cocos have been supplemented by a station similarly equipped at Diego Garcia, an island in the Chagos Archipelago near which many of the cyclones in the Indian Ocean originate. The system thus established is completed by observations taken at Seychelles, in the island of Réunion, and at coast stations in Madagascar. Coincidentally with the establishment of this system, the observatory has been supplied with perfect equipments for solar, magnetic, and seismometric observations. The present scope of the work may be summed up as follows.

The magnetical and meteorological records are measured at each hour of Mauritius civil time, and the records of the seismograph at each hour of Greenwich civil time.

The direction of motion of the various types of cloud are observed as often as possible, with a Marvin nephoscope.

The meteorological observations made at Seychelles, Rodrigues, Cocos, and at various stations in the island, are all systematically reduced.

Observations on the rainfall are received from about sixty stations in different parts of the island, and the results tabulated. Storm warnings are issued, when necessary, in continuous photographic records, showing the variation of magnetic declination, horizontal force and vertical force, barometric pressure, temperature of the air, and of evaporation; also automatic records of the direction and velocity of the wind, and of the amount of rain are obtained with instruments of the Kew pattern. Since November, 1902, automatic records of the pressure of the wind have been obtained with a pressure tube anemometer.

Meteorological bulletins are prepared daily for publication in the local press, and abstracts of the principal results for each month are forwarded to different parts of the world. From May to September code-telegrams giving a résumé of the weather during the week are despatched every Saturday to the Director-General of Indian observatories in connection with the monsoon predictions. Similar telegrams are despatched monthly to the Director-General of the Egyptian Survey Department. It

only remains for a system of wireless telegraphy, for communication with ships at sea, to be established to complete the value of the observatory for security of navigation.

Photographs of the sun are taken daily and the duration of bright sunshine registered. A print from the negatives of all sun photographs taken is forwarded to London to the secretary of the Solar Physics Committee. When it was found that a daily photograph of the sun at Greenwich was impossible, the observatories at Mauritius and Dehra Dhun were requested to co-operate by taking photographs of the sun daily when the weather permitted, and thus fill up the numerous gaps on the Greenwich series. This work has continued without interruption for over thirty years.

Absolute values of magnetic declination and horizontal force are determined as a rule four times a month, and of dip eight times a month. The observatory is at present co-operating with the International Committee on Magnetic Observations in the production of a quarterly return showing the magnetic state of the earth on every day of the year. It is worth recording that much laborious service in connection with the magnetic work of the *Discovery* on the South Polar Expedition was undertaken without extra cost to government.

Photographic records of earth movements are obtained with a Milne seismograph, and Mauritius is co-operating with other stations in obtaining continuous records of the seismic condition of the earth, and incidentally is collecting valuable

information concerning the phenomenon of diurnal and secular changes in the vertical.

In its latest service to commerce the observatory has entered on an unexpected area of activity in furnishing the means by which insurance on sugar crops and mills can be effected on a satisfactory basis. The observatory records have determined the relative effects of cyclones, rainfall, and temperature on the sugar crop, and have given a numerical value to each. It appears that popular opinion has considerably over-rated the first and under-rated the last factor. The figures now established furnish the only proper basis of calculation on which insurance companies can determine their premiums within very narrow limits.

But in the last resort all the interests illustrated are subsidiary to the vital interest of defence. The problem of colonial defence will be dealt with in another chapter. It must suffice here to point out that all recent schemes are based on the principle of concentrating imperial forces at strategic bases. In the event of a dangerous local disturbance, or of foreign invasion, it is for the colonies to apply for aid from the nearest naval or military station, and to depend on their own police or territorial force during the period that must elapse before the application can be complied with. The success of the system obviously depends on adequate means of communication by ocean telegraphy.

CHAPTER XXIV

IMPERIAL COMMUNICATIONS

THE first year of the reign of Queen Victoria witnessed the commencement of a popular movement towards a goal which was only reached in the year of the Diamond Jubilee of her Majesty's reign. In the year 1837 Sir Rowland Hill, in a pamphlet entitled *Post Office Reforms*, advocated a low, uniform rate of postage between all places in the British Isles irrespective of distance, and after a vigorous contest in Parliament the present uniform penny postage rate came into force on January 10th, 1840. In the course of the contest Daniel O'Connell, urging the claim of Ireland, said to Lord Melbourne: "Consider, my Lord, that a letter to Ireland and the answer back would cost thousands upon thousands of my poor and affectionate countrymen more than a fifth of their week's wages; and let any gentleman here ask himself what would be the influence upon his correspondence if, for every letter he wrote, he or his family had to pay one fifth of a week's income."

The same sentiment found expression many years later, when colonisation had associated the homes of the British Isles with countless homes of kindred

origin in North America, South Africa, and Australia, as well as in a multitude of intervening islands and settlements. Mr. Henniker Heaton has reminded us that Mrs. Chisholm, "the Emigrants' Friend," whose name, unfamiliar as it may be to English readers, is a revered memory in Australia, related at a public meeting a story illustrating the working of the old system, under which part of the postage on letters from the colonies had to be paid by the recipients in this country :

"A clergyman," she said, "once told me that the postage was about two shillings ; that he had frequently paid the postage for the poor people, but that he was really too poor to do so any longer. A letter came ; it was sent back to the colony. In the meantime, the poor woman for whom that letter was sent died in the workhouse ; and in the letter was inclosed £25 for her support."

In giving some account of the larger policy of extending the penny postage system of the British Isles to the British Empire, I must at the outset express my obligations to Mr. Henniker Heaton for the assistance he has given me.

It is interesting to note that Sir Rowland Hill so early as 1837 did not overlook the larger needs of the colonies. In his pamphlet on *Post Office Reforms*, he wrote : "Let all foreign letters, on leaving this country, be subjected to a double rate of English postage, but let foreign letters received into this country be delivered free ; the postage claimed by the foreign Government being in each case paid by the foreign resident. . . . As this arrangement would be an exception to

the penny rate it would be well to require that all letters addressed to foreign countries should be enclosed in the stamped covers already named. . . . If, as I would recommend, the rates of postage already proposed for inland letters were extended to foreign letters, the prices of covers for foreign letters would be exactly double those for inland letters. . . . Colonial letters should be placed under the same regulations as foreign letters."

Rowland Hill therefore proposed a twopenny rate for foreign and colonial letters, on the ground that it would probably be impossible in all cases to provide for the English postage on letters received from foreign countries being paid in advance. In other words, he was the original author of the suggestion of a twopenny foreign and colonial rate, revived, as we shall see, more than fifty years later by Sir James Fergusson and the Duke of Norfolk.

In a letter to Sir Rowland Hill written on June 7th, 1847, Elihu Burritt, known as the Learned Blacksmith, recommended threepenny postage to the colonies: "So that an Irish or English emigrant, living at the head of navigation on the Missouri river, might, with three penny stamps, pay his letter through to his friends in Kilkenny or Bucks; that is, one American penny stamp to pay through to Boston, one English stamp to pay through thence to Liverpool, and another for the inland postage in England or Ireland."

In 1851 an "Association to promote a cheap and uniform system of Colonial and International postage" was formed, including Elihu Burritt,

Mr. C. W. Dilke, Mr. Milner Gibson, Sir John Lubbock, Sir S. Northcote, Sir J. Pakington, Dr. Lyon Playfair, and Mr. C. P. Villiers. On February 8th, 1853, a meeting of the Association was held at the Society of Arts, when an extension of the inland penny rate to the colonies was advocated, but with this material limitation, that the penny was only to cover delivery of correspondence at the colonial port, leaving each letter still liable to the colonial rate. At that time the postage on a letter to the colonies varied from 8d. to 1s. 10d., the average being about 1s.

On March 4th, 1853, the Postmaster-General received a deputation which urged the extension of the penny rate, as above defined, to the colonies. It is not a little remarkable, though quite consonant with our experience of apparent inconsistencies in the lives of many benefactors of the Empire, that in 1853 Sir Rowland Hill denounced this proposal, and, in order to defeat it, suggested and succeeded in securing the adoption of a sixpenny rate.

In 1864, at the suggestion of the Postmaster-General, an attempt was made by the Government to raise the sixpenny rate to one shilling. A one-shilling rate was imposed in the case of letters for South Africa and the West Indies, and it was then instituted for Australian correspondence; the Australian Governments being invited to make a similar advance in postage to England. The reply of Australia was a united protest, so energetic and unanswerable that the proposition was dropped.

Next came a determined effort by Mr. William

Hastings, of Huddersfield, to take up the work where it had fallen from the paralysed hand of the Association, of which he had been an agent. In his pamphlet, published in 1866, he advocated universal penny postage. Unfortunately, his arguments were not always conclusive. For instance, he compared the cost of conveying and delivering a pound of cotton and a pound of letters, forgetting that the former is accomplished in one, and the latter only in thirty-two transactions. A more serious blemish was the proposal that to secure the penny rate a letter should be posted two days earlier than usual. His suggestions were "read with much interest" by Mr. Gladstone, and then transmitted to the Postmaster-General, who made short work of the hapless pamphleteer.

In the year 1885 an incident occurred that attracted little notice at the time but was to exercise a phenomenal influence on the penny postage scheme. Mr. Henniker Heaton was elected M.P. for Canterbury.

In 1885 the postage on a letter weighing half-an-ounce was, from this country to Canada 2½d., to the Cape or the West Indies 4d., to India and the Far East 5d., and to Australasia 6d. Severely as these rates pressed on the poor by repressing correspondence, they were even more objectionable as an incubus on the trade by which all, rich and poor, live. For at this moment our European rivals were straining every nerve to plant commercial agencies and settlements in every rich and populous, but non-manufacturing country, to cut off and divert the stream of orders for our

goods, and even to oust us from the colonial market. Germany had just seized upon New Guinea and the "Bismarck" Archipelago; the scramble for Africa was beginning; that for China was about to begin with the definite cession of Tonquin to France. In these circumstances it still astonishes one to remember that while our rivals, the Continental merchants, enjoyed a uniform postal rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. to every part of the British Empire, our merchants had, except to Canada, to pay 4d., 5d., or 6d. The anomaly was intensified by the fact that the foreign letters were carried in British mail-steamships, heavily subsidised by British taxpayers for the promotion of British commerce!

On October 15th, 1885, Lord Rosebery, in a speech at Paisley, referred to the growth of correspondence between England and the colonies:

"Anybody who has to open the letter-bag of an estate, as I have to do very often, will notice the enormous number of letters with the colonial stamp and postmark coming to the families living on the estate; and it is perfectly futile for people to believe, whether Liberals or Conservatives, that with these letters passing and repassing between members of the same family in England and the colonies, the members of the family who live in England could afford to be indifferent to the colonies."

Mr. Henniker Heaton was not long in opening a campaign in Parliament in favour of a universal penny postage system. On March 30th, 1886, he moved, "That in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived for the Government of this country to open negotiations with other Govern-

ments, with a view to the establishment of a universal international penny postage system."

A short extract from his speech on that occasion must suffice :

"Doubtless objections will be raised to the proposal on the score of its boldness, its innovating nature, its ineptitude, and so on. I make this appeal, however, not merely to the cold, calculating economists on the Treasury Bench, but to the representatives of the hundreds of millions who own our gracious Sovereign's sway. I ask them to make intercourse between their sundered coasts as easy as speech, as free as air. I entreat them to tolerate no longer this unworthy profit on the expression of their fraternal sympathies, and on the natural development of their trade. And I foretell that this reform, when it is ours—as it soon must be—will confer a widespread benefit on commerce, it will bring new happiness into myriads of English homes here, in this country, and scattered over pathless prairies in America, over trackless plains in Australia, and along equatorial streams; and it will form the last and not the least tenacious of the ties that bind our colonies to their beloved mother country."

The House generally was compelled to refuse support to the proposal, in face of the bold and ingenious objections raised by the Government, inspired by the Post Office. The main official point was stated by Mr. Fowler, Secretary to the Treasury, namely, that the country was already losing £365,000 a year in subsidies to the mail-packet services. This objection was the same as

that put by the Postmaster-General in 1866 that "As the rates are not self-supporting in many cases, they are too low," and it was first raised by Rowland Hill himself.

From that time, Mr Henniker Heaton, supported by a unanimous chorus of encouragement from the Press, devoted his time, energies, and fortune to the work of securing the boon of penny postage for the Empire, and eventually for humanity at large. In a speech delivered at Sydney in August, 1887, he said :

"We all, who may be regarded as promoters, claim no credit for originality. . . . We only ask that an axiom of political economy shall be faithfully followed out, and that a principle of that noble science shall have fair play. . . . A principle must be true or false. If it be true that a reduction of postage doubled the commerce, multiplied the wealth, and intensified the happiness of the people of the United Kingdom, surely it will have a similar effect with an extended application. Two and two make four all the world over, scientific laws are the same in both hemispheres, and there is no doctrine of physical or mathematical science which is true in the temperate zone but false in the tropical. Latitude and longitude have nothing whatever to do with the question. It seems incredible that the learned, far-seeing statesmen of Europe should have to be told these things by a man from the Antipodes."

A few months later he read a paper before the Royal Colonial Institute on *The Postal and Telegraphic Communication of the Empire*, which made

him known to a larger public in the United Kingdom as the advocate of Imperial penny postage and cheap cablegrams. The determined opposition offered to the scheme by an official representative of the Post Office and others was summed up by Mr. Pearson Hill, a son of Sir Rowland Hill:

“Mr. Henniker Heaton proposes that the postage should be reduced to a uniform rate of one penny between this country and the colonies, and tries to strengthen his argument by instancing the success which attended the introduction of the uniform penny postage system into this country forty-eight years ago. Now I think Mr. Henniker Heaton fails to understand—probably he has never heard the reason—why a uniform penny postage was practicable in this country, but is impracticable beyond.”

I remember that at this time a mutual friend said: “Henniker Heaton seems to be running his head against a stone wall; but I know him, and if you multiply his matter by his energy you will find the result to be a very considerable momentum.”

In response to popular opinion the Post Office persuaded the Treasury to modify the sixpenny rate to Australia, by instituting a fourpenny all-sea post, avoiding for the letters thus sent the cost of trans-continental carriage between Calais and Brindisi. This “sop to Cerberus” had the natural effect of increasing the general demand for substantial concessions. It was easy to show that our clippers frequently beat the transit times of the Calais mails, while the contrast between the fourpence paid for a letter and the tiny fraction of a penny

paid for transporting every half-ounce of valuable goods to Australia was brought into relief. In 1890 Mr. (afterwards Lord) Goschen, after reviewing what had been said for the penny rate, proposed in the Budget to institute a uniform $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. rate to all parts of the Empire. This measure, it was fondly hoped at the Post Office, would "choke off" the insatiable member for Canterbury. Public opinion, as voiced by the Press, only halted for a moment's examination of this red herring rate, and then burst into full cry again. It was stated by the Chancellor that the reduction to $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. would involve a loss of £105,000 a year. As this amount was less than half the average annual increase of the Post Office surplus, Mr. Henniker Heaton, with the sanction of some wealthy friends, proposed to test the willingness of the Post Office to give penny postage a fair trial by offering a conditional guarantee to secure it against loss. The offer was, of course, declined.

To a further reduction of the colonial rate the Government opposed two objections. First, that the terms of the Postal Union Convention debarred a lower rate than $2\frac{1}{2}$ d., the ordinary or general rate of the Union; and, secondly, that the colonies were opposed to any further reduction. The first objection was upheld by the law officers of the Crown to whom the question was referred in 1890, but it was disposed of at the Congress of the Postal Union which assembled in Vienna in July, 1891, in the terms of Article 15:

"Quant à l'alinéa 2, un délégué a désiré connaître l'opinion de la Commission sur la question de savoir

si, en vertu des dispositions contenues dans cet alinéa, un pays de l'Union ayant des colonies dans le ressort de l'Union serait compétent pour fixer, dans les relations directes avec ces colonies, des taxes inférieures au tarif normal de l'Union, mais supérieures à son tarif intérieur.

“Avec l’assentiment de la Commission, on a répondu affirmativement à cette question.”

The declaration that the colonies were opposed to any further reduction was only partially true. None of the colonies had any objection to the outward rate of postage from the United Kingdom being reduced, so long as the reduction did not impose on them the obligation to adopt the same rate. The only question at issue was whether the Imperial Government should reduce the rate of postage to one penny, leaving it to the colonies to fix their own rates. There followed an angry controversy during which Mr. Henniker Heaton carried on a conflict with the Postal Authorities in defence of an imperial penny postage system, in the same spirit and with not less determination than Sir Rowland Hill had carried on his memorable struggle for an inland penny postage system established in 1840.

Throughout this struggle the argument that a penny rate was opposed by the colonies was worked for a great deal more than it was worth. Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt and others, while consistently advocating the reform, were no less consistently deterred from giving it a practical measure of support by the confident statement that the colonies were opposed to it. In 1891 the

Imperial Federation League undertook to promote the reform, and advocated it in many ways. But their propaganda was arrested in February, 1893, when the Postmaster-General, Mr. Arnold Morley, received a deputation of the League, and assured them that the colonies were opposed to the scheme and that we could not force it upon them.

Nevertheless, the movement was gathering strength, and in March, 1894, Mr. Henniker Heaton was encouraged by a letter from Lord Knollys, expressing the interest taken in it by the Prince of Wales, his late Majesty, King Edward the Seventh.

“Marlborough House,
Pall Mall, S.W., March 7th, 1894.

“Dear Mr Henniker Heaton,

“I must begin by asking you to be so good as to forgive the accidental delay which has taken place in replying to you.

“I showed your letter to the Prince of Wales, who desires me to say that he always, and whenever he has had an opportunity, advocated in private the adoption of the Imperial Penny Postage system, and that he certainly shall not discontinue doing so now.

“The time will perhaps come when he will be able to take up a more open and decided line on the subject than he has hitherto felt that it would be proper for him to adopt.

“Believe me,

“Yours truly,

“FRANCIS KNOLLYS.”

In 1895 public opinion was ripe for a change. The hour had come and the man. In July, 1895, Lord Salisbury formed his second government, and the appointment of Mr. Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary was announced, the Duke of Norfolk being Postmaster-General. In February, 1896, Mr. Henniker Heaton laid before Mr. Chamberlain the case for imperial penny postage. His opening words were :

“It is already apparent that you have set before yourself the task of giving effect, so far as may be practicable, to that feeling in favour of closer union between the mother country and the colonies, which is growing in intensity all over the Empire.”

After a minute examination of the merits of the proposal, the document referred to the *impasse* produced by the hostility of the officials, and continued :

“But how is the assent of the colonies to be obtained? The established practice is for our Postmaster-General to address his colonial *confrères* in such a case, and of course Sir W. Harcourt and the House expected that this would be done. From that day to this, however, the Post Office has refused to stir a finger in the matter. No circular has been issued, no inquiries have been made, no notice whatever has been taken of the wishes of Parliament, the undertaking of the Government, etc. . . .

“... What we want is some cheap and ready means of bridging over the chasm of distance between our people and the millions of their colonial kindred, of restoring the broken arch in their communications

and the severed link in their sympathies, of weaving the innumerable delicate threads of private and family affection into a mighty strand that shall bind the Empire together, and resist any strain from our foes or the Fates. We want it now, while we are threatened; now while crafty rivals would replace us, and our wares and our rule; now while our far-off kinsmen are showing us in touching and inspiring fashion their loyalty to the Queen and their love for the Old Country. Such a measure as we are discussing would be instantly understood as Britannia's reply to all this love and loyalty; not only in colonial exchanges and market-places, but wherever a British axe rang in a clearing, or a British hunter stalked the wilds; aye, and in the closets of European statesmen, too. The time is opportune; all we want is a Minister who will seize the opportunity from which our Post Office has turned away."

This appeal was not thrown away. Next year, on the occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, the colonial Premiers were assembled in London, and met Mr. Chamberlain on June 24th, 1897, when the English Minister made the following memorable declaration:

"I should also mention the desire which is widely felt, and which I share, for an improved postal communication with the colonies. I believe that that matter rests entirely with the colonies themselves, and that they have revenue difficulties in the matter which have hitherto prevented us from coming to any conclusion. But I confess that I think that one of the very first things to bind together the

sister nations is to have the readiest and the easiest possible communication between their several units, and as far as this country is concerned I believe we should be quite ready to make any sacrifice of revenue that may be required in order to secure a universal penny post throughout the Empire."

The Conference of colonial Premiers was followed in the same year by a quinquennial Congress of the Postal Union at Washington. At this Congress the foreign delegates, keenly alive to the fact that every reduction of postage must develop British commerce, voted against a Postal Union penny-rate as one man. The British Post Office at once took advantage of the opportunity to revive a suggestion made originally by Sir Rowland Hill in 1837, and renewed by Sir James Fergusson in 1891. They proposed to the Colonial Post Offices the establishment of an imperial twopenny postage rate. The response of Canada to this proposal was the announcement that from January 1st, 1898, the Canadian domestic rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. would extend to correspondence to every part of the Empire. The British Post Office protested that this could not be done without the consent of the rest of the Empire; and still hoping to force its twopenny rate on the colonies, it proposed a Conference on the subject.

This Conference met in London, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on June 28th, and on July 5th and 12th, 1898. The delegates included the Duke of Norfolk as Postmaster-General (Chairman), and an imposing array of Postmasters-General and

representatives from the colonies and India. It was the only Conference of Postmasters-General of the Empire that has ever been held in London. For the following account of the proceedings I am indebted to Mr. Henniker Heaton.

At the first meeting the Secretary of the Post Office set forth the familiar objections of the Department to the penny rate ; and the inference naturally drawn by the colonial delegates was that the Home Government had receded from Mr. Chamberlain's offer. The Australian delegates accordingly announced that they could not accept any reduction of postage. This roused the delegates of South Africa, who offered to support a uniform penny rate ; and Mr. Mulock, for Canada, instantly closed with their proposal.

The British officials then put up the Duke of Norfolk to recommend the delegates, in a fatherly way, to compromise their conflicting views by accepting the happy medium of the twopenny rate. Mr. Mulock, however, formally proposed penny postage for all parts of the Empire that might be disposed to accept it.

At the third meeting the attitude of the Home Delegates to the question of imperial postage had undergone a transformation. The Duke of Norfolk finally announced that the Government gave its unqualified support to the proposal of imperial penny postage. And so ended the struggle between Mr. Chamberlain and the Post Office.

An official summary of the results of the Conference was given in the Annual Report of the Post Office published in 1899 :

“As an outcome of proposals addressed by my Department to the Postal Administrations of the various British Colonies and Dependencies for a twopenny rate of letter postage with the Empire, and of the preference of the Canadian Government for a three-halfpenny rate, a Conference of representatives of the Imperial Government and India and the Colonies met in London in June and July, 1898, to consider the question. The result was the establishment (in most cases on Christmas Day, 1898, in the rest shortly afterwards) of a uniform rate of one penny the half ounce on letters passing between the mother country and British India, Canada, Natal, Newfoundland, and Crown Colonies, and British Protectorates, or between those possessions themselves. Australasia and the Cape Colony are the only important parts of the Empire which have not yet adhered to the penny postage scheme.”

I will close this narrative of the evolution of the imperial penny postage system with a brief reference to my own experience. The first official interview I ever had with Mr. Chamberlain was on this subject in 1895, I being Governor of the Windward Islands at the time. My government included the three administrative units or governments of Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, and I had for some time desired to include them in a single postal unit with a penny postage rate. Considering their geographical and administrative interrelations, and that each of them could send letters to the United Kingdom for one penny, a $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. rate between each was nothing short of grotesque. After a long trilateral correspondence between my Government,

the Colonial Office and the Post Office, I had an interview with Mr. Chamberlain, and this question, with others on which there had been a tedious correspondence, was settled in less time than it takes me to relate the incident.

My experience in Mauritius was more complex. When a penny postage rate between the United Kingdom and Mauritius was first proposed, the scheme did not include postal transit through France, the most rapid and general postal route. This raised an initial difficulty, and suggested an international preference that did not appeal to a section of the community. There was also a probable loss of revenue anticipated. Accordingly, when in August, 1898, Mr. Chamberlain communicated to me the resolution of the London Conference, expressing a hearty trust that my government would see its way to participate in the proposed arrangements, the scheme for some time met with little encouragement. Fortunately, there was a sentiment in the colony superior to all other influences of origin and tradition—the sentiment of affection for Queen Victoria. Mr. Chamberlain would have been glad to have the colony associate itself with the system on Christmas Day, 1898, but I thought it prudent to wait and avail myself of this sentiment. On May 2nd, 1899, I submitted the scheme to the Council of Government :

“ A proposal will be submitted to you in favour of Mauritius joining the Imperial penny-postage scheme on the eightieth anniversary of the Queen’s birthday, which nearly coincides with the completion of the sixty-second year of Her Majesty’s reign. India and

all the Eastern colonies except Mauritius, and all the West Indian colonies except Jamaica, joined the system on Christmas Day. Jamaica and Malta will, I believe, join on the Queen's birthday. The immediate adhesion of the Cape, and the early adhesion of the Australian colonies are expected and will complete the whole Imperial system."

The prompt reply of the Council was in these terms: "On sentimental grounds we are willing to join the Imperial penny postage scheme on the next anniversary of Her Majesty the Queen's birthday, although it may not be a success in a financial point of view." Fortunately, the scheme turned out to be financially successful.

Mr. Henniker Heaton's advocacy of cheap postage was from the first associated with the advocacy of cheap telegrams, but it was not till 1908 that he definitely advocated a system of penny-a-word telegrams throughout the Empire. I do not propose to discuss the possibility of an early realisation of that proposal, but merely to illustrate the interests of the Crown colonies in ocean telegraphy and cheaper telegrams. It has been declared that "submarine lines are the true nerves of the Empire; they are the nerves by which all the colonies are brought into simultaneous action with ourselves." This is exceptionally true of our island Crown colonies. Their interests are fourfold; domestic interests, interests connected with the transactions of commerce, interests connected with the security of navigation, and the paramount interest of defence.

It would be absurd to forget that the constituent parts are mainly held together by material

interests, but we all cling to the belief that what has been called the cash-nexus is not the only relation that links the King's over-sea dominions to each other and to the United Kingdom. When King George and Queen Mary returned from their tour through the colonies in 1901, his Majesty, then Prince of Wales, spoke earnestly of the need of a larger sympathy in the relations of the Empire ; and I do not know if there is any part of the Empire in which cheap telegrams may serve as an instrument of sympathy more usefully than in the Crown colonies. The administration and the development of these territories is in the hands of a mere handful of our countrymen who have a special claim to our sympathy. All of them live in an environment of tropical diseases, many, as in parts of equatorial Africa, in an environment of pestilence, battle and murder, and sudden death. If many of them, to the eternal honour of British womanhood, are accompanied by their wives, climatic and other considerations separate them from their children, and from the social and family pleasures that give to home life all its charm and colour.

It is perhaps only those who have themselves lived in distant Crown colonies who can realise the difference between a telegram received from home at the moment of an incident of domestic interest, and a letter weeks after the event when the sympathy of simultaneous emotion is impossible. The immediate announcement of a birth, a marriage, an incident of child life, a success at school or at college is wonderfully appreciated, but there are graver interests. I remember well the touching

case of a young lady still a bride who lost her husband in distressing circumstances in Ceylon. The cost of the message and address made it necessary to limit the message to three words. The prompt reply was limited to two words of loving affection. Two words sufficed for the moment, but then there followed a month of anxiety and mental torture until further communications could be exchanged by letter. Who can estimate the value of a penny-a-word telegram system in such circumstances? A few years ago when I was in Mauritius, my son was engaged in two campaigns in India and two campaigns in Africa. In each campaign we were able, with the assistance of friends, to keep in fairly frequent communication with him by telegram. And when his last campaign was ended by a soldier's death the telegraph placed us in an environment of sympathy of which only those who have had a similar experience can estimate the value. I may be allowed to add that the first message received was a gracious message from King George and Queen Mary, then Prince and Princess of Wales.

In most of the Crown colonies the cost of telegrams, although it has frequently been reduced, is still prohibitive for domestic purposes. The price of a message to British Guiana is still seven shillings a word; to Trinidad five shillings and a penny. Even if an imperial penny-a-word telegram system is at present impossible, an appreciable reduction is looked forward to with constant aspiration. And the experience of the past justifies the expectation that, in spite of all the

combinations and methods denounced by Mr. Hen-
 niker Heaton as the real obstacles to cheap telegrams,
 a very great reduction may be made. My own ex-
 perience encourages me. I was residing in the
 United States for some time previous to the successful
 laying of the Atlantic cable. It is interesting now
 to recall the assurance of the professors who first
 of all proved that a cable could not be laid. When
 it got laid, and communication was arrested after
 the transmission of a single message, they proved
 that a cable could not be laid "that would stay
 laid." When a cable really got into working order,
 a new difficulty arose. The promoters of the cable,
 and in particular Mr. Cyrus Field, had constantly
 insisted that they were influenced rather by large
 philanthropic motives than a desire for profit. Sir
 J. R. Robinson, of Fleet Street fame, has recorded
 how Mr. Cyrus Field used to say : "This is not an
 undertaking for mere profit. Of course we shall
 have a right to a certain percentage on our outlay,
 but the thing is to get rapid and cheap communi-
 cation between the two countries. I care for
 nothing else. I want the British merchant to be
 able, for a few shillings, to hold daily intercourse
 with his American brethren ; I want the newspapers
 to get daily intelligence as though they were on the
 same continent, and I want to see the poor Irish
 emigrant able to satisfy himself of the welfare of those
 at home." When the cable got into working order,
 I thought it would be pleasant to send a message to
 some of my many friends in the United States. At
 that time the minimum charge for a telegram was
 £20 for a message not exceeding twelve words, and

no one argued more confidently than Mr. Cyrus Field that any reduction of that charge was impossible. However, the impossible happened, and the charge got itself reduced to one shilling a word. So I have constantly encouraged my West Indian friends not to despair of cheaper telegrams and even of an eventual penny-a-word telegram rate. The present high charges are much less than the charges when I was in that part of the Empire.

Of course domestic interests must remain subordinate to the interests of commerce in any scheme for the extension of cable systems. And from this point of view it is hardly necessary to argue that the isolation of the tropical island colonies gives them a particular interest in ocean telegraphy. It is the instrument by which they are kept in touch with the markets of the whole world. It is curious how the construction of sea-cables has falsified the confident assertions of professional experts. In 1887 Mr. Henniker Heaton, insisting on the reform of our postal and telegraphic communication at the Colonial Institute, advocated the construction of a cable from the Cape of Good Hope to Australia. Sir James Anderson, who was present, declared: "There is some talk of taking a cable all the way from Australia to Mauritius across the route of the trade winds to the Cape. There is not even a sandbank on which to catch fish. There is not a port to which a cruiser or a cable-ship can go to replenish their supply of coal, which they are certain to require to do. There are no ships going there. There is no trade, and nobody wants to go there."

Fourteen years later a cable from Durban to Mauritius, and thence continued by an all-British route to Australia, was laid by the Eastern Telegraph Company, furnishing an important strategic route to Britain from the Cape. This cable was opened to traffic on January 1st, 1902, when I was Governor of Mauritius, and arrangements were made that enabled me and a chain of Governors to associate the whole Empire in a message of sympathy and congratulation. In May, 1902, an important station of the Eastern Telegraph Company was opened at Rodriguez, a dependency of Mauritius, about 500 miles eastward, an island exceptionally exposed to the influences of cyclonic systems in the Indian Ocean, and consequently of first-rate importance in assisting meteorological observations. I have dealt with this in a previous chapter.

Subsidiary to postal and telegraph systems is the system of communication by telephone exchanges. And it must be admitted that in the Crown colonies this method of communication was appreciated at a very early date, long before the telephone had come into general use in the United Kingdom. In 1891 a telephone exchange was established in Grenada, mainly owing to the enterprise and energy of Mr. Edward Drayton, the Colonial Secretary. Within a few years the island was covered with a network of telephones, every place of importance being connected with the system. Before long the system was extended in the colonies of St. Lucia and St. Vincent. This enterprise was found of particular service, as St. Lucia became a great naval and military base, and coaling station.

In 1894 I obtained a loan for the establishment of a telephone system in St. Lucia, and before I left the Windward Islands a man-of war or merchant vessel could within a few minutes of arrival have an apparatus placed on board, and be put in communication with every military or police station, every public and private office, and practically with every residence of the upper classes in the colony.

CHAPTER XXV

FISCAL SYSTEM

THE general fiscal system of the Crown colonies is based on a recognition of the fact that the capital and profits of nearly all colonial enterprises are domiciled in the United Kingdom.

Apart from Hong Kong and Singapore, which have no domestic exports, and in which Free Trade exists in the strictest sense of the term, the fiscal system of the productive Crown colonies is established on a basis of Free Trade modified by the exigencies of revenue.

The policy of Protection, in the accepted sense of the term, does not enter into the fiscal system of the Crown colonies, for the best of all reasons: as a rule, they have nothing to protect. So far from imposing duties of Customs for the purpose of protecting their own industry, their Customs revenue is derived entirely from commodities which it is to their interest to admit, and on the admission of which their very existence depends.

With the exception of duties on spirits and tobacco, counterbalanced by duties of Excise, there are no Customs duties which it is to the interest of any

class of the community to maintain. They are therefore in no sense protective duties. But as these colonies are generally dependent on foreign imports, not only for all manufactured goods, but in many cases for their food supply, it has come to be recognised that the burden of taxation can most fairly be distributed among those who participate in the wage fund, by duties of Customs. The tariff accordingly is so constituted as to secure a just incidence of taxation on the various classes of the community.

In the United Kingdom the people have been educated to believe that there is a real principle involved in preferring direct to indirect taxation or *vice versa*, and in this way they have come to think that direct taxation falls upon the rich and indirect taxation on the poor. As a result candidates for Parliament, in their zeal for the class who have a majority of votes, desire to abolish indirect taxation altogether. Curiously enough, in practically every British overseas possession in which the Imperial Government has in the last resort absolute control over financial legislation, revenue is raised mainly by indirect taxation with the assent of every class of the community. It should seem therefore that public opinion in the United Kingdom must be controlled not by a question of principle but by questions of fact arising out of the system of collection. It rests on two solid facts, the area of incidence and the method of appraisement. The area of incidence is limited to commodities that enter into the primary and constant consumption of every household in the United Kingdom, even the poorest; and the

method of appraisement is almost exclusively by specific duties, with the result that the smaller the intrinsic value of a commodity the greater is the ratio of taxation. Take an article of tropical produce, tea, as an illustration. While the poor man pays a hundred per cent. on his expenditure on tea, the rich man pays ten per cent. or less. The hasty conclusion is reached that all indirect taxation must fall on the shoulders of every member of the community in inverse ratio to his ability to bear it.

In the King's over-sea dominions, alike in the self-governing and Crown colonies, the area of incidence of indirect taxation by duties of Customs is not limited to commodities that enter into the primary and constant consumption of the poor, but includes the whole community, the method of appraisement being chiefly by *ad valorem* duties, so determined that the burden of taxation falls on each member of a community in direct proportion to his means and his ability to bear it.

I have in a previous chapter explained the arguments which, in the case of the West Indies, overcame the objections of the Home Government to export duties. I showed conclusively,—or at least to the satisfaction of the Home Government—that there are circumstances in which export duties constitute the only machinery by which a tax can be imposed so that the incidence will fall automatically on the members of a community in proportion to their ability to bear it. Whatever objection there may be to export duties on general principles applicable to the circumstances of the

United Kingdom, they form an important factor in the fiscal system of the Crown colonies.

In the financial difficulties in which many of the Crown colonies so constantly find themselves, it is natural that the Colonial Office should have constantly pressed on local administrations the advantages of direct taxation in the form of an income tax. In all the Crown colonies dependent for revenue on the development of their agricultural resources, an income tax is confronted by formidable difficulties. The capital and profits of practically all Crown colony enterprises are domiciled extra-territorially. They depend on British or foreign capital invested in land or in financial and commercial agencies, and consequently the only taxable fund is that supplied by the annual profits of the cultivation of the land. This fund provides the income of the representatives of capital, the Civil Service, and the learned professions, together with the wages of labour. The wages of labour are, of course, excluded from income tax, and the number of members of the learned professions and representatives of capital who could be drawn into the net of any reasonable scheme of income tax is insignificant. In the Crown colonies in which an income tax has been imposed, it has been found to reduce itself largely to a tax on the Civil Service. I may instance that when I was Governor of the Windward Islands, one-seventh of the whole income tax in St. Vincent was paid by myself, the official members of the Executive Council, and the magistrates. The subject was fully discussed about the same time by Sir Robert Hamilton in a report

on an inquiry into the affairs of Dominica. A principal objection is the cost of collection, which has been found to leave an insignificant balance of net revenue. The inquisitorial nature of an assessment for income tax also raises exceptional difficulties in view of the relations that must necessarily exist between the assessors and the assessed in the social circumstances of the Crown colonies. In colonies where trade is largely in the hands of Asiatics another serious difficulty arises. Some years ago, at a time when it was contemplated to raise revenue by income tax in Mauritius, an ordinance was passed requiring Asiatic merchants to keep their books in English or French. It is hopeless to suppose that income tax can be fairly assessed without such an obligation. But the ordinance was disallowed at the instance of the Indian Government.

The advantages of the fiscal system of the Crown colonies in enabling them to negotiate with foreign powers for reciprocal accommodation by mutual concessions were strikingly illustrated in the case of the M'Kinley Tariff Treaty Arrangements made with the United States in 1892. The interests of British Guiana in these arrangements occupied a large share of my attention during the year 1891. The result was the admission of West Indian sugar into the American market with the fullest advantages of the free list.

More than fifty years ago an eminent writer, gifted with singular powers of foresight, in the course of a vigorous protest against the fiscal and colonial policy of the day, anticipated the connecting

and concentrating efficiency of railways, steamers, and electricity, then in the infancy of their development, in the aggregation of communities. "We already see," wrote Sir John Barnard Byles in 1851,¹ "the approaching shadows of these gigantic federations which a coming age will witness. The two colossal Empires which even now loom in the distance are the United States and Russia. Possibly a third may be descried, and a greater than either of the two, unless it pleases Providence only to show us the mighty possible future of Great Britain, and then to dash our incipient greatness by allowing us to persevere in a disintegrating policy in spite of the plainest warnings."

For the disintegrating policy he proposed to substitute a policy of aggregation which in fiscal matters would treat the colonies as English counties; in other words, he would establish a *Zollverein*.

"The true Colonial policy," he says, "would treat the Colonists as if they inhabited an English county, giving them full liberty to grow and manufacture what they pleased. It would differ from the system of the free-traders, for in place of disadvantages it would give them in common with their fellow-subjects an advantage in the Imperial markets. The first markets in the world, instead of being open, as now, to all without distinction, would give a preference to British subjects. It requires little foresight to perceive how powerfully self-interest would immediately bind the Colonies to the mother country and the mother country to the Colonies.

¹*Sophisms of Free Trade and Popular Political Economy Examined*. London, 8th ed. 1851.

National pride would join with national interest to cement the union. England would not be prouder of her vast dominions than these dominions of the confederation to which they belong, and of the royal and imperial head of which they are the members. Full scope in every quarter of the globe would be given to Anglo-Saxon energy and enterprise. In no long time, not only would the Colonial trade of the British Empire be ten times what the Foreign trade is now ; but our external trade, instead of leaning on a sandy and precarious foundation, would repose on a solid and enduring base."

"Why," he asks, "are we to suppose that commercial legislation, which from the commencement of our history has been variable and fluctuating, should all at once become fixed and stereotyped? No! As it has always changed in time past, so it surely will change again in time to come. Perhaps after bitter disappointment. . . . It is not a class, but the Nation that will insist on the change. When it comes it will come naturally, irresistibly, and without danger. What dangers may be incurred in the meantime is another thing."

Though a universal Imperial *Zollverein* may not be possible, there seems to be no reason why the principles of a *Zollverein* should not be introduced into the fiscal relations of the United Kingdom with her Crown colonies.

Enough has, I hope, been said to illustrate the ever-increasing importance of the interchange of articles of natural tropical produce with the artificial products of British industry ; and it is unnecessary to enter upon a discussion of the question whether

import duties are paid by the producers or consumers, for it is certain that the free admission of articles of food and raw material would be equally acceptable to both. I have endeavoured to show that in the tariff system of the Crown colonies there is nothing which could be urged as justifying a retaliatory duty on their exports.

Seeing, then, that the Home Government exercises practically complete control, not only over their financial affairs but over the different agencies passed in review, on which the development of the resources of the Crown colonies depends, I venture to submit that in fiscal matters they cannot be dealt with as foreign states or self-governing colonies. I urge, therefore, that their produce of food and raw material, other than articles subject in the United Kingdom to duties of excise or restrictions, such as spirits and tobacco, should be admitted free of all duties on Customs, or, if a duty has to be imposed to meet the exigencies of the Imperial Treasury, at rates based on the fact that no possible analogy can be established between their relations to the mother country and the relation of foreign states and self-governing colonies.

I pass on to the subject of the public credit of Crown colonies.

The result of a policy of liberal expenditure on productive public works out of borrowed moneys has been that charges on account of public debt constitute a formidable item in the annual expenditure of many Crown colonies. The rate of interest is obviously of importance. Parliament has on two occasions within the last few years enabled the

colonies to reduce the burden of these charges. By the Mauritius Hurricane Loan Act, 1892, the Imperial Treasury was authorised to guarantee the repayment of the principal, and interest at the rate of three per cent. per annum, of a loan raised by the Government of Mauritius. By the Colonial Loans Act, 1899, the Imperial Treasury was authorised to make advances, amounting in all to £3,351,820, to a number of colonies (at a rate not less than two and three quarters per cent.) in accordance with the terms of the National Debt and Local Loans Act, 1887. Assuming that, as in the case of Mauritius, the rate of interest on loans secured by an express Imperial guarantee was one per cent. less than the rate of Crown Colony Inscribed Stock Loans, these Acts obviously furnished a substantial measure of relief. They were a recognition by Parliament of the fact that the Home Government is in the last resort responsible for the financial condition of the Crown colonies, and that the logical consequence of this responsibility is the right of the Home Government to control their expenditure. As, then, no loan can be raised without the consent of the Home Government, which is in the last resort responsible for every loan, with or without a statutory guarantee, it seems to follow that the Home Government could render substantial aid to the Crown colonies, without incurring the additional risk of one farthing, by allowing all the Crown colony authorised loans to be negotiated in accordance with the provisions of one or other of the Acts I have referred to.

This is not an original suggestion. On February

24th, 1899, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Chamberlain brought in a Bill to provide for the advance of colonial loans and the issue of guaranteed colonial stock or bonds. This Bill authorised the creation of a Colonial Loans Fund provided by the issue of guaranteed colonial stock, and was designed to cover all the King's dominions beyond the seas, clause 7 running as follows :

(1) This Act shall apply to any Colony the finances of which are declared by the rules under this Act to be under the control of a Secretary of State within the meaning of the Act.

(2) This Act shall also apply to any British Protectorate or protected State the finances of which are so declared to be under the control of a Secretary of State, and to Cyprus, in like manner as if it were a Colony, and the Queen in Council or any authority recognised by the rules as a legislative authority were the Legislature for that Colony.

All I desire to urge is the enactment of a measure on analogous lines.

The present system has produced a singular anomaly. While the Imperial Treasury is admittedly responsible for all Crown colony loans, there have been brought into existence two classes of colonial stock. The class of security known as colonial inscribed stock, issued without an express Imperial guarantee, provides an investment for trust funds bearing interest at a rate appreciably higher than guaranteed loans. The additional rate of interest is provided out of colonial funds and constitutes a burden of which they might be relieved without, as I have said, laying one farthing

of additional risk or burden on the Imperial Treasury.

In logical and intimate association with the system of supplying colonial governments with cheap money for public purposes, by the security of an imperial guarantee, stands the question of a system by which cheap money may be supplied to the small planters and peasant proprietors, who are getting to be recognised as an agency of constantly increasing importance in the development of the Crown colonies, in the ratio of their increasing intelligence and capacity under the influence of education and training in improved agricultural and industrial methods. Such a system seems a necessary complement of the departments of economic botany represented in the West Indies by the Imperial Commissioner of Agriculture and by local agencies throughout the Crown colonies as described in my chapter on Agriculture. As the Royal Commission pointed out, in 1897, "the existence of a class of small proprietors among the population is a source of both economic and political strength." When Governor of the Windward Islands I devoted much attention to this question, and provided the legislative machinery necessary to establish a system cordially approved by Mr. Chamberlain.

In 1896 I secured the passing in St. Lucia of an Ordinance "to encourage the introduction of capital into the colony for agricultural purposes and with a view to enable proprietors to develop the resources of their estates by loans at moderate rates of interest." In the following year identical Ordinances

were passed in Grenada and St. Vincent. The effect of this legislation was to authorise the colonial governments to guarantee loans made, on certain fixed conditions, to small planters by any recognised bank or financial agency. It was a very simple scheme, but no active measures seem to have been taken to carry it out. It is certain, however, that the question of providing small holders with cheap money by some system of bank credit is a pressing problem of the day, as well in the United Kingdom as in the Crown colonies.

CHAPTER XXVI

EXPANSION

I HAVE dealt with the problems of supplying the Crown colonies with an appropriate form of government, appropriate laws, an appropriate population, and appropriate methods of developing their resources. I shall now consider the problem of expansion of area. I shall not concern myself with the acquisition of new territories by conquest or treaty, using the word, as I do, in the restricted sense of expansion within the administrative limits of a colony, by extending the area of beneficial occupation through the agency of European capital and supervision into unexplored or unexploited districts.

The colony of British Guiana offers a vast field for expansion in this sense, and I propose to illustrate the work done under the influence of the colonial policy of the Victorian era by records of my own experience.

The imperial adventurers of the sixteenth century gave the name of Guiana to that part of the continent of South America which lies between the Orinoco and the Amazon. The inland limits of the

territory thus denominated were never definitely fixed, but geographers have assigned to it an area of about 700,000 square miles, almost equal to the combined area of France, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Italy. From the earliest ages the spirit of romance has anticipated, and the genius of commerce has sought to realise the discovery of a city of gold in a land of promise, and the marvellous adventures and narratives of the first conquerors of America created a robust faith in the existence within the limits of Guiana of "that great and golden city which the Spaniards called El Dorado and the naturals Manoa." In the year 1498, Columbus reached the mouth of the Orinoco and landed on the coast of Paria, and within the next three years the main outline of the shores of Guiana were traced by Spanish sailors. It was nearly a hundred years later that the settlement of Guiana, as a commercial and imperial enterprise, was designed by Sir Walter Raleigh, and his scheme of colonisation brought before his countrymen.

On February 6th, 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh, "having many years since had knowledge by relation of that mighty, rich and beautiful Empire of Guiana," departed from England, and on his return in the same year he published his *Discovery of Guiana*. A passage in the play of *Othello*, and many references in contemporary works, prove that in an age of great enterprises the discovery of Guiana was considered a very notable event. It was but natural that a land thus reputed should become an apple of discord upon which the great

maritime Powers of Europe have left the marks of their teeth.

The vast territory historically included under the denomination of Guiana is now divided between the jurisdiction of three European Powers,—Great Britain, France, and Holland, and two South American Powers,—Brazil and Venezuela. It would far exceed the limits of my space to give, even in outline, a narrative of the political and commercial enterprises which have led to the partition of Guiana between these Powers. Nor would such a narrative be consistent with my present purpose, which is merely to render an account of measures taken to exploit Great Britain's share in this undeveloped estate, during the period that I held the office of Lieutenant-Governor and Government Secretary of the colony, and more particularly to place on record the part it was my good fortune to take in the enterprise when administering the Government.

In 1835 Robert Hermann Schomburgk was sent by the Royal Geographical Society on a mission to British Guiana. His instructions were, first, thoroughly to investigate the physical character and resources of the great central ridge which furnishes tributaries to the great rivers of the country, and secondly, to connect the positions thus ascertained with those determined by Humboldt on the Upper Orinoco. His mission included three separate expeditions to the interior and was not concluded till October, 1839, when he returned to England. His services were acknowledged with distinction by the scientific world of Europe; what has made them more

popular was the discovery of the water plant known as *Victoria Regia*. In 1840 the Secretary of State proposed to appoint him "Commissary for surveying the boundaries of British Guiana," the expenses of the mission to be shared between the Home Government and the colony. But at the time the relations between the colony and the Colonial Office were so embittered by the consequences of the abolition of slavery that any proposal emanating from Downing Street was "a red rag to a bull." In 1842, however, the Colonial Secretary sent a conciliatory despatch to the Governor, in which he said :

"The item for half the expenses of the Mission for surveying and marking out the boundaries of the colony, is an item for a service not imperatively demanded by an immediate exigency, but the neglect of which might involve a large expenditure, and evils of great magnitude at a future time. The case is therefore one in which a small present sacrifice is required on grounds of prudence and foresight. The Combined Court in their eighth resolution have expressed an opinion that the service is unnecessary, and have even objected to the payments which they made towards it out of the Contingent Fund at your disposal on the Civil List. The planters of British Guiana do not perhaps consider their own interest and that of their offspring as permanently identified with the colony in which they are now following their fortunes. But it is for the well-being of the colonists themselves, that the affairs of the colony should be conducted in a more enlarged and comprehensive spirit, with a view of their permanent interests as component parts of the great Colonial

Empire of Great Britain, and not with the short-sighted view of avoiding, or throwing upon the resources of the Mother Country, every expense which is not absolutely called for by the immediate and pressing exigencies of the day. In the present instance Her Majesty's Government are willing to charge one moiety of the expense upon the Home Revenue, asking the colony for the other moiety only; although, as I have observed before, if the boundary expedition has any other aspect than Colonial, it is only because by neglecting to settle it, the Mother Country might at some future period be involved in the expense of a war, in addition to the continual expense of the ordinary protection of the colony and the sacrifices submitted to by the consumers in this country, for the promotion and encouragement of its staple produce."

The foresight of the Colonial Office on this occasion was justified, although unfortunately the boundary known as Schombergk's Line became, half a century later, the subject of a conflict which threatened to involve Great Britain in a war with the United States. The controversy was brought to a crisis by the events which I am about to describe.

About the year 1885 the attention of the Government was drawn to the north-western territory of the colony by two motives,—first, by numerous applications for licenses to prospect for gold; and secondly, by the financial position of the colony which made it imperative to seek for fresh areas of revenue. In 1886 the Colonial Office sanctioned the issue of licenses, but in the following year gave instructions

that all licenses, concessions, or grants applying to any portion of such disputed territory would be issued, and must be accepted, subject to the possibility that, in the event of a settlement of the present disputed line, the land to which such licenses, concessions, or grants applied might become a part of the Venezuelan territory ; in which case, no claim to compensation from the colony, or from Her Majesty's Government could be recognised.

It was in 1887 that I became very directly interested in the development of the north-west territory. The occasion was the Jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria. The official celebration of the Jubilee was appointed to be held in September, but the desire of the colony to associate itself with the Empire at the time of the celebration in England was too strong to be repressed. The more spontaneous celebrations of the earlier period even surpassed in enthusiasm those of the official date. I was administering the Government at the time, and I thought it appropriate, after taking part in the Georgetown celebrations, to avail myself of the occasion to make a tour in outlying districts of the colony which had not been visited by a representative of the Sovereign for many years.

On the morning of Saturday, July 23rd, 1887, I left Georgetown and reached the mouth of the Pomeroon the same evening. I was met by Mr. Everard im Thurn, magistrate of the Pomeroon District, who conveyed me in his boat across the four miles of shallow sea that extend between the Pomeroon and Moruka rivers. Passing under the interlaced roof of mangrove branches covering the

narrow stream of the Moruka, we arrived at about seven o'clock at the Church of England mission station of Waramuri, where on a sandy hillside rising from an environment of forested swamp a *benab* (an open cottage constructed after the model of the houses of the native Indians) had been prepared for my reception. It was approached by a path of white sand winding up the hill, and on each side a crowd of Indians, Caribs, Warraus, and Arawaks, held blazing lamps or torches in such a way as to form a very effective illumination. Overhead the leafy sprays of plumed bamboos lighted by the torches from below, by the moonlight from above, formed a vast triumphal arch of black, gold, and silver. As I passed under it, accompanied by the Reverend W. Matthews, the superintendent of the district mission, a *feu de joie*, after the simple fashion of the people, "fire as you please," formed an accompaniment to *God save the Queen*, sung by the assembled multitude. The next morning, Sunday, I attended prayers in the mission church, and after service addressed the Indians present from the steps. At eleven o'clock we left Waramuri for Santa Rosa, a settlement on the Moruka supported by the Roman Catholic Church, and under the charge of the Reverend Father Mesini. The people of this settlement were mostly Spanish-speaking Arawaks, descendants of refugee Spaniards from Venezuela by inter-marriage with natives, of fine features and noble presence. Headed by Father Mesini, they received me with demonstrations not less cordial than had been accorded me at Waramuri. In the afternoon a solemn service of thanksgiving was held

in the church in celebration of the Queen's Jubilee. After the service, I addressed the people from the verandah of Father Mesini's residence, and with his willing consent invited them to meet me on the following morning at Waramuri, to which station I returned in the cool of the evening. The next morning I met the assembled Indians of the Moruka, who had come in from different parts of the district to the number of about twelve hundred, on a shell mound opened by Governor Sir Francis Hincks on the occasion of his visit in 1866. I must explain that the shell mounds of British Guiana are of the nature of the Danish kitchen middens, which have been discussed in anthropological literature, containing the bones of wild animals and human beings. It was with great satisfaction that I addressed the representative gathering, supported by Mr. im Thurn, Mr. Matthews, and Father Mesini, all of whom, after a simple explanation of the reason of my visit, and the nature of the celebration of the Jubilee year of the Queen's reign, I thanked, as her Majesty's representative, and on behalf of the Government of British Guiana, for their devotion to the welfare and happiness of her Majesty's Indian subjects in British Guiana. I then distributed the gifts I had brought with me for presentation,—rifles, axes, cutlasses, cloth, ornaments, etc. The afternoon of the day was devoted to sports, shooting with arrows, running, jumping, and native games. In the course of the day a large number of tribal captains and heads of families signed the following address to her Majesty the Queen :

“TO THE QUEEN’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Address of the Indians of the Pomeroon and Moruka Rivers in your Majesty’s South American Colony of British Guiana :

May it please your Majesty,

We, the native Indians of the Pomeroon and Moruka Rivers in the Colony of British Guiana, faithful subjects of your most gracious Majesty, wish to send to you, our Queen, our humble, but loving good wishes at this time when, as we hear, all your other subjects in whatever part of the world they may be are sending your Majesty messages of their loyalty. It is fifteen years since the Governor of your Colony has come among us, and we are glad and grateful that His Excellency Charles Bruce, whom your Majesty has at this time placed over us, has come among us just now so that we may ask him to send these our words to your Majesty. We ask him at the same time to thank you on our behalf for the peace and quietness which have been kept about our homes during the whole of the fifty years during which you have been our Queen. Some of us have especial reason to be grateful in that we first came into this, your Majesty’s country, fifty years ago, and here found quiet homes in place of those on the other side of the Orinoco River from which we had been driven by the lawlessness there prevailing. All of us have reason to be grateful for the care and teaching, which we and all our people have received from those of your Majesty’s white subjects who were first sent to live among us soon after your Majesty became our Queen. May

God grant that you may long continue to reign over us."

A separate address of equally loyal tenor was signed by the Spanish-speaking Arawaks from the Santa Rosa district.

Next morning, Tuesday, July 26th, I left Waramuri, and passing down the Moruka crossed the narrow bight of sea that separates it from the Pomeroon. The transit, in a heavily laden canoe through a white squall, filled me with admiration for the skill of the boatmen. Of their strength and endurance I was to have convincing proof during a struggle of many hours against a furious downward tide in the Pomeroon. Our first halt on the Pomeroon was at Hackney, a mission settlement of the English Church remarkable at the time for the simple beauty of its church and the excellent organisation of its school. The land in this district is of extraordinary fertility, but Mr. im Thurn, in a picturesque account of our tour, has declared that the greatest curse of these parts is the mosquito. "Just at this part of the river," he says, "the mosquitoes are certainly more numerous, larger, more savage at night, than in any other part of the colony: so bad are these insects, that every single labourer employed receives, as a matter of course, from his employer, besides his wages, a peculiarly shaped mosquito net of strong calico." At the time of which I am writing the agency of the mosquito in the dissemination of tropical disease was unknown, nor am I aware to what extent the discoveries of modern research have since affected

the environment of this field of enterprise. Our next halt on the river was at the Government station of Marlborough. This station, also within the mosquito area, had recently been equipped with a new court house, a residence for the Commissary, police quarters, and a lock-up by Mr. im Thurn, and was called Marlborough after his old school. As an old Harrovian it was pleasant for me to find two old public school boys associated in pioneer work in this remote part of the Empire. I found the walls of the lock-up daubed by the fingers of prisoners with the blood of countless mosquitoes, and gave orders that in future all lock-ups in the district were to be provided with mosquito nets. I was 'building better than I knew.' After leaving Marlborough we rowed to the magistrate's official residence at Makasseema, which we reached about an hour before midnight. The day's journey had been a laborious row of about forty miles, but the boatmen sang cheerily as they covered the last mile or two with a vigorous spurt.

Early the next morning we went down the river to the central mission settlement of the district at Kabakaburi, associated with the labours of two eminent missionaries, Mr. Brett and Mr. Heard, but at that time under the charge of Mr. Matthews, who had returned with us from Waramuri. I was received with the same demonstrations as at Waramuri and Santa Rosa, and passing under a triumphal arch of tree-ferns, palms, and branches, entered the church. After a short service of thanksgiving I addressed the Indians, and Mr. im Thurn invited all present to bring their friends to

meet me the next day at Makasseema. I afterwards visited the settlement and inspected the school.

The next morning Indians from Kabakaburi and many others arrived at Makasseema to the number of over eight hundred. A grand stand had been erected, and on this I took my place supported by Mr. im Thurn and the Commissary, who at that time constituted the entire official Staff of the vast area of territory included in the district, by the missionary, and by Miss im Thurn and Mrs. Matthews. In a short speech I included a brief account of the work of the preceding days, and the captains of tribes and many heads of families present added their signatures to the address to the Queen which had been brought from Waramuri.

A regatta and aquatic sports followed, and gave the liveliest satisfaction not only to the men and women, girls and boys who took part in them, but also to the crowd of spectators who lined the banks of the river or swarmed on its surface in canoes. An interesting event was a race by boys seated not in boats, but in the huge, curved spathes or sheaths which cover and protect the flower of the Cokerite palm (*maximiliana martiana*), the competitors using their hands only as paddles. At night all gathered on the illuminated grounds, and the chiefs of the three tribes, Caribs, Akawaios, and Arawaks, were presented to me. To each I gave a gun, with powder, shot, and caps, and then any who wished to address me were invited to step forward. Among other requests made to me, the Arawak captain urged the appointment of a doctor for the Pomeroon

district, and, more or less consequently, a supply of boards for coffins. I then distributed, as at Wara-muri, the presents I had brought for the Indians, and the proceedings of the day closed with a native dance. A little before midnight all had departed, having, as was found next morning, done not one particle of the damage which had been anticipated to the shrubs and plants. The next day I left Makasseema, and returned by way of the Tapakuma Lake to Georgetown. At the next meeting of the Court of Policy, after giving an account of my expedition, I informed the members that I had requested the magistrate of the Pomeroon District to prepare a report similar in nature to the annual administration reports of the Government Agents of the Provinces of Ceylon, copies of which were to be found in the library of the Court. I requested the magistrate to include in his report :

1. A description of the agricultural and mineral resources of the district, and of their present development ;
2. An account of the population, with special reference to the settlements, conditions, and needs of the native tribes.

I also gave instructions that the magistrate's report should be followed by annual reports to be laid before the Court of Policy together with the Administration reports of Heads of Departments. I subsequently issued similar instructions to the magistrate of the Essequibo River, having already contemplated the establishment in British Guiana of Government Agencies similar to those of which I had had experience in Ceylon.

My visit to the north-west was immediately followed by a visit to the Indians, river inhabitants, and missions on the Berbice River up to the limits of navigation. This district of the county of Berbice, which forms the eastern division of the colony, had not been visited by any representative of the Sovereign for many years, and the people begged me to forward to her Majesty a loyal address similar to those presented by the communities of the north-west.

The result of these visits was to confirm my confidence in a policy which I advocated with insistence, in spite of some discouragement, during the whole period of my service in the colony. The competition of the beet-sugar industry supported by the bounty system had so seriously affected the fortunes of the proprietors and the population dependent on them, that the Administration was perplexed to find revenues adequate for the support of a civilised government. Two policies were advocated,—a policy of contraction and a policy of expansion. Those who advocated a policy of contraction urged the concentration of the population around the estates with a view to obtain cheap labour by the pressure of competition, and strenuously opposed an expansion which would tend to attract migration into new areas, and thus enhance the cost of production. They argued, therefore, that the time was not propitious for new enterprises, and that labourers imported into the colony at their expense should not be attracted from the sugar estates. There was *primâ facie* much in favour of this policy, but on the other hand there was the example of the West India

islands, where it had been carried out with the energy of despair, but proved altogether inadequate to arrest the consequences of the enormous increase of bounty-fed beet-sugar. In every West India island established interests had been destroyed and public finance crippled; while by their insular limitation they were deprived of the alternative of territorial expansion.

The policy which was adopted in British Guiana, however, did not lose sight of the requirements of the sugar industry. It sought to limit the industry to areas exceptionally adapted to it by conditions of climate and soil, to reduce the cost of production by the use of scientific methods alike in the field and in the factory, and to provide appropriate means of transport by land and water. At the same time, it sought to extend the radius of industry and civilisation by expansion into areas fertile in resources, and to equip them by immigration with an adequate and appropriate population.

A few months after my visit to the north-west territory, the reservation attached to the grant of concessions and licenses was withdrawn, and the result was a rush for gold, accompanied by a general movement into the interior for exploration and settlement. This movement was met by the Venezuelan Government by granting concessions in the disputed territory, and in particular for a railway from Bolivar to Guacipati traversing a part of the area. In consequence, on December 31st, 1887, when administering the Government, I issued a proclamation, of which the material part was as follows:

"Whereas it has come to the knowledge of the Government of British Guiana that certain concessions have been granted by the President, and by and with the sanction of the Government of the United States of Venezuela, purporting to give and grant certain rights and privileges for constructing a railway to Guacipati, and in and over certain territories and lands within and forming part of the Colony of British Guiana :

"Now, therefore, I do hereby intimate to all whom it may concern that no alleged rights purporting to be claimed under any such concession will be recognised within the said Colony of British Guiana, and that all persons found trespassing on or occupying the lands of the Colony without the authority of the Government of this Colony, will be dealt with as the law directs."

This proclamation gave rise to considerable anxiety in the United States, and in the following February that Government addressed a note of remonstrance to its Minister in England. I mention this as it marked a stage in the events which had their final issue in the constitution of a Tribunal of Arbitration under a treaty signed at Washington in February, 1897, between Great Britain and Venezuela. The award was made in October, 1897, and I have no desire to discuss it.

Early in 1889 Lord Gormanston had assumed the Government of British Guiana, and a few months later I went to England on leave of absence. Unfortunately Lord Gormanston's health broke down, and in October I was requested to return at once to the colony. During the next

six months I energetically resumed the policy of expansion. In December I paid a visit of inspection to the north-west territory. In planning this visit it was my main object to enlist the good-will of the unofficial members of the Court of Policy and others, knowing very well that unless I carried them along with me the policy could never be carried out. I reported this visit to the Secretary of State, Viscount Knutsford.

Government House,
Georgetown,
Demerara, 3rd January, 1889.

“MY LORD,

“I have the honour to inform you that on December 19th, I left Georgetown on a visit of inspection to the settlements and recently established stations in the north-western district of this colony.

“In the month of May last a proclamation was published creating a new fiscal district beyond the northern limits of the North Essequibo Coast fiscal district, to be called the north-western district, and at the same time provision was made by the Combined Court in the supplementary Estimates for the appointment of a Commissary. It was the intention of the Government by these arrangements to enforce their fiscal jurisdiction in the district.

“The residence of the Commissary was fixed at Marlborough on the Pomeroon River.

“I may remind your Lordship that at the Session of Combined Court held in December, 1887, provision was made for the maintenance of a police

force at several stations in the district, and the supplementary Estimates voted in the month of May last, provided a sum of ten thousand dollars for the erection of new police stations.

“During the present year the attention of the Government has been drawn by the Crown Surveyor and Mr. im Thurn to the question of dealing with the farms which have been for some years in the unauthorised occupation of squatters on the Waini, Morawhana, Barima, Aruka and Amakuru rivers, and Mr. im Thurn supplied a list of about fifty farms so occupied.

“Acting on the advice of the Crown Surveyor and Mr. im Thurn, I decided early in November to send two of the Assistant Crown Surveyors to make a preliminary survey of the settlements on the above mentioned rivers, and so soon as these surveys shall have been completed, I propose to consult the Court of Policy as to the conditions upon which grants on leases of occupancy shall be given to the squatters. It seems to me desirable that titles should be given to them upon the easiest terms possible.

“Such having been the steps taken during the last year to bring the outlying portions of the colony in the north-western fiscal district within the jurisdiction of the Government, I thought it opportune to visit the principal waterways or highways of the district, which with the exception of the Pomeroon have never been visited by any Governor of the colony. At the same time, I invited to accompany me the unofficial members of the Court of Policy, the Chief Commissary, the

Comptroller of Customs, the Head of the Army Commissariat Department, and Mr. Tinné, who is perhaps known to your Lordship as a gentleman largely interested in the colony.

“Some of the unofficial members were prevented from joining me, and at the last moment I had to regret the absence of Mr. Turner from illness.

“I annex for your Lordship’s information a small map of the district I visited shewing the general position of the settlements and stations. Leaving Georgetown early on the morning of the 19th, we reached the Waini in about fifteen hours, and the next day ascended the river and passed through the Morawhana or Mora passage, which connects the Waini with the Barima, on which there are several settlements. There is deep water in this natural channel and a large vessel could easily pass through, were the channel not impeded by the stems of decayed trees, which could, however, be removed at a trifling cost. A glance at the map shews the advantage of this passage for communication between the settlements on the Upper Barima and Aruka rivers with Georgetown. There is a very strong tide in the Morawhana which ebbs and flows about three hours earlier than the tide of the Barima, producing singular currents at the junction of the two streams, the site selected for the principal station of the district called the Morawhana Station. The site commands the Morawhana and two long reaches of the Barima. The station includes at present a police barracks and residence for the Inspector. These have been erected within the last few months by Mr. im Thurn, and do credit

to his skill and economy. There are a number of settlements at this point.

"On the morning of the 21st I addressed the native Indians who had come in to meet me during the night and told them that the station was built for their protection. I exhorted them to consider the Magistrate and Inspector as their friends and to have recourse to them in all times of sickness and trouble. I also pointed out to them that a nursery of trees and plants had already been started at the station for their future use and profit. I invited them on their return to their homes to make known to the tribes and families they represented, the desire of the Government to protect and aid them. I then distributed among them some presents which had been selected by Mr. im Thurn. At this station we were joined by the Assistant Crown Surveyors. My party then embarked on the steamer which had arrived during the night and steamed up the river to its junction with the Aruka, on which there are several settlements, and which we followed, past the hill station of Kumaka, occupied for some time by Schombergk's party, to Issororo, a comparatively high hill from the summit of which there is an extensive view.

"During the day we visited some of the more important settlements and were much struck with the enterprise of the settlers, the fertility of the soil, and the advantages offered by the water system of the district.

"The next day we steamed down the river past numerous settlements to the station established at Barima Point in 1887. The site of this station was

formerly cleared and planted by Mr. Wells of the Manoa Company. The shore at this point has been a good deal washed away lately by the sea which threatens to encroach on the limits of the station. After the inspection we proceeded to the station and settlements on the right bank of the Amakuru as indicated on the map.

“ Before nightfall we left the river and steamed down the mouth of the Orinoco on our return journey. Early on the morning of the 23rd we entered the Pomeroon.

“ On the Pomeroon are two stations, Marlborough and Pickersgill. The former includes a Court-House, police barracks, and the residence of the Commissary. At Pickersgill there is a police station only. Beyond Pickersgill at a distance of about forty miles from the mouth of the Pomeroon is the important mission station of Kabakaburi, and a little beyond the mission is Makasseema, the residence of the Magistrate, Mr. im Thurn. Of this part of the district I gave some account in my despatch No. 307 of August 4th, 1887,¹ and I will only mention that during the past year a dispensary under the charge of Mr. im Thurn has been established for the benefit of the native Indians at Kabakaburi. From Makasseema I returned to Marlborough and thence to Georgetown, which I reached early on December 24th.

“ The gentlemen who accompanied me on this expedition were much impressed with the resources of the districts and the apparently easy development of which they seem capable.

¹ In this despatch I reported my visit to the district in July, 1887.

“In addition to what has been already done to confirm our jurisdiction over the district, I would advise the establishment of a port of entry at a suitable place. In my despatch No. 3 of the 2nd instant, I have dealt with this matter. But above all, I would advise that the rights of the present squatters should be speedily settled, and that measures should at once be taken to attract fresh settlers and capital to this district. On the general question of the disposal of the Crown lands in the colony in such a way as to encourage agricultural enterprise, I have submitted my views in my despatch No. 7 of the 4th instant relative to the proposals made by the Crown Surveyor in his report for the year 1887, with an extract from which I may appropriately close this despatch.

‘The lands of the numerous rivers in the colony being composed of rich alluvial soil offer magnificent advantages for the cultivation of cocoa, cocoanuts, valuable fibres, coffee and fruits, and the facilities of water carriage available will enable planters here to compete favourably with the producers of the same commodities in other countries which have not a water system like that in existence here. In addition we enjoy an immunity from the strong and cold winds which sometimes prevail and cause great loss, as in Trinidad and some of the other Islands, by blasting the cocoa blossoms and levelling to the ground the banana trees.’

“I have, etc.”

In the prosecution of my policy, I followed up my visit to the north-west district, as I had done

in 1887, by a visit to the county of Berbice, on the eastern division of the colony. On February 14th, 1889, I reported to the Secretary of State that I had invited the elective members of the Court of Policy to accompany me on my tour, as I wished to discuss with them important proposals connected with the county. This tour included a visit to the highest navigable point of the Corentyne, the boundary between British and Dutch Guiana.

During this year the proposals set out in my despatch of January 3rd, 1889, were proceeded with, and preparations were made for the future administration of a part of the territory as a separate district. Houses were built for the officer in charge, for his clerk, and for a Commissary (Revenue Officer); also a cottage hospital. Pending the rebuilding of the Amakuru station, a police schooner was kept always stationed in the Amakuru to serve as a police station. The Barima had been declared a port of entry, with a Customs-house at Morawhana. The inland communication had been improved by the clearance of the overhanging trees from the *itabo* (water-way) between the Moruka and the Waini, and by the establishment of a rest-house on the Barima between Morawhana and Barima Sands.

The arrangements for carrying out my proposal to establish a Government Agency on the Ceylon system required a good deal of time and elaboration. There were also many influences at work. Expenditure had to be voted, and there was the cloud of the boundary question on the horizon. To my dismay when I was at home on leave in April, 1890, I received from Mr. im Thurn an intimation that at

the next session of Combined Court it would probably be declared that the time had not come to make administrative changes. He added that his connection with the colony would then at once terminate. This was one of the shocks that colonial service brings. But the disaster was averted. An Ordinance giving the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Court of Policy, power to establish an Agency was passed, and on November 27th I had the pleasure of moving in the Court of Policy the following resolution :

“ That the Court hereby advises and consents to the establishment of a District to embrace the territory bounded on the North by the Atlantic Ocean and the mouth of the Orinoco River, on the South by the ridge of land between the sources of the Amakuru, Barima, and Waini Rivers and their tributaries and the sources of the tributaries of the Cuyuni River, on the east by a line extending from the Atlantic Ocean in a southerly direction to the said ridge of land on the south, and on the west by the Amakuru River and the line known as Schombergk's boundary line, the limits of the said district being described and delineated by a blue line as on extract map of the colony attached hereto.”

The area of territory included in the Agency was about 9,000 square miles.

The general nature and scope of the system was sufficiently explained in the instructions I drafted for the Government Agent's guidance, defining his functions and his relation to the heads of the various departments of government. They were

drafted in the hope that they might serve in the development of other parts of the interior.

“The Government Agent within his own district will have complete control, subject only to the Governor, over all officers and matters belonging to his district. He will correspond on all administrative matters with the Government Secretary, who will transmit to him the Governor’s instructions. But in order that he should be able to carry out his numerous functions in relation to the Revenue, Police, Postal departments, etc., he will be appointed a deputy of the head of any department in relation to which he may have to transact business within his district. The Government Agent will correspond on any points which concern a particular department with the head of that department, who for that purpose will be his superior officer.

“The Government Agent while so acting within his district as deputy will have complete authority in matters relating to each department, and any subject upon which he may differ from the head of the department, except on purely technical grounds, in the decision of which he must be subordinate to that head, will have to come before the Governor for consideration.

“But when any head of a department goes into the district the functions of the Agent as his deputy will fall entirely into abeyance, and he will have no departmental authority in that particular branch, although as administrative head of the district he will be on an equal footing with the head of department so coming into his district; and no head of a department should go into the district

except in circumstances of urgent necessity, without giving due notice to the Agent.

“Whenever on the occasion of a visit to the district by the head of a department, a difference of opinion arises between him and the Agent, the latter should at once report it to the Government Secretary for the Governor’s final decision.”

Under this scheme the Government Agent held appointments as deputy for the following heads of departments : for the Receiver General, Comptroller of Customs, Chief Commissary, Inspector General of Police, Postmaster-General, Colonial Civil Engineer, Inspector of Prisons and Crown Surveyor. He also held a commission as Special Magistrate, though with the understanding that he was not to exercise the powers given by this commission except in cases of sudden emergency and in the absence of the ordinary Special Magistrate assigned for the district. He also held the power of a Government Officer under the regulations issued in accordance with the Mining Ordinances ; and he was a Commissioner for oaths and affidavits.

I should add that, while all these duties were incumbent on the Government Agent, the organisation of each separate department had been elaborately prepared by the titular heads of departments. In particular, the fiscal arrangements were organised by the Chief Commissary (Revenue Officer), Mr. W. S. Turner, one of the most hard-working and unselfish public officers I have ever known. His laborious life was brought to a premature close by indefatigable labours in which he was constantly

exposed to malarial influences. Similar good work was done by the heads of the Survey, Police, and Medical departments. It is of the essence of this system that it places at the disposal of a sparsely populated territory all the experience of administrative experts without the cost of a large staff of highly paid resident officials.

The immediate working of the system thus carefully organised was summarised in the counter-case presented by the Government to the Tribunal of Arbitration constituted in 1897 and formed an important element in the case. In July, 1891, I paid an official visit to the Agency and reported the results to Lord Knutsford in a despatch from which I may conveniently quote :

Government House,
Georgetown,
Demerara, 15th July, 1891.

“MY LORD,

“I have the honour to transmit for your Lordship’s information copies of the Report of the Government Agent of the North-Western District for the year 1890-91.

“It has been a subject of much regret to Mr. im Thurn, as your Lordship will easily gather from the tenor of his report, that the circumstances of the district are but little known in the colony. Towards the close of the year 1888, I paid an official visit to the district reported by my despatch No. 6 of January 3rd, 1889, and a similar visit was paid last year by Lord Gormanston and reported by his despatch No. 87 of March 28th, 1890.

“On the 1st instant I left Georgetown for a second official visit to the district and on this occasion I was accompanied by the Bishop of Guiana, the Chief Justice, the Honourable C. Ross and Honourable W. Craigen, Members of the Court of Policy, Financial Representatives R. G. Duncan, R. Neil Mackinnon, and D. M. Hutson, the Reverend Canon Heard and Mr. H. de R. Barclay. I had also invited the Honourable B. H. Jones, the Government Botanist, and the Gold Commissioner, but they were prevented from joining the party, the Gold Commissioner I regret to add by indisposition.

“I annex a sketch map prepared for me by Mr. im Thurn which shows the route followed from the mouth of the Waini.

“We left Georgetown at 5.40 p.m. on the 1st instant and reached the mouth of the Waini at about 11 the next morning. Here we were met by Mr. im Thurn in the new steam launch, which has proved a valuable acquisition. It has worked admirably and I shall forward a requisition for another by the next mail.

“We passed through the Morawhana passage to Morawhana in the launch in a little over an hour, and during the afternoon I inspected the Government buildings.

“On my last visit the police barracks and the quarters of the Inspector of Police were the only buildings erected. To these have since been added a hospital and dispensary, the Government Agency, the residences of the Magistrate and Commissary, and a shed for purposes connected with the gold industry.

"The grounds of the Government Agency have been admirably laid out by Mr. im Thurn, and the rapidity of the vegetation and the fertility of the soil at this point delighted and surprised all.

"In the meantime the steamer had proceeded to Morawhana by the Orinoco and the Barima, a distance of 120 miles, and at 10 o'clock on the morning of Friday, July 3rd, we left Morawhana, passing down the river Barima to the Amakuru.

"The distance from Morawhana to Barima Point is nearly fifty miles, and a convenient half-way *benab* or rest-house of a very simple construction has been constructed. I propose to arrange as soon as possible for the construction of similar rest-houses by Mr. M'Turk on the Essequibo between Bartika and the Potaro.

"We passed into the Orinoco shortly after 3 p.m. and reached the Amakuru in about an hour.

"Since my last visit excellent accommodation has been provided for the police, and a house for the Inspector is in course of construction. The Venezuelans have established a police station on the left bank nearly opposite our own. As I passed it the Venezuelans saluted my flag and immediately on landing at our station, I received a letter of salutation from General Iustiniano Lugo, describing himself as Governor of the Territory of the Delta, to which I sent a courteous reply. I annex copies of these documents.

"I learnt with satisfaction that for some time past a very friendly feeling has existed between our people on the right bank and the Venezuelan settlers on the left bank.

“On our return from the Amakuru we called at the police station near Barima Point, known as Barima Sands, and reached Morawhana shortly before midnight. We slept on board and at 7 a.m. proceeded up the Barima to its junction with the Aruka, passing the grants for mission and school purposes recently made to the Church of England and to the Roman Catholic Church. Nearly the whole of the lands on this part of the river are occupied or granted, and the progress which has been made in clearing the settlements during the last few years gives satisfactory evidence of the intelligence and industry of the settlers. All the members of my party, and especially those representing the agricultural interests of the colony, seemed to be satisfied that the representations which have been made of the agricultural resources of this part of the district have not been exaggerated.

“We steamed up the Aruka as far as the Issororo hills, which I had ascended on my previous expedition. Some of the party who ascended the hills were impressed with the advantages which they seem to offer for a settlement.

“Returning to the junction of the Aruka and Barima, we steamed up the latter river and landed at a large settlement recently cleared and cultivated. This was the first time that a steamer has navigated the Barima above the Aruka mouth.

“On our return journey we landed to inspect the mission and school premises of the Roman Catholic Church.

“In the afternoon the captain of our steamer made a survey of the Morawhana passage, the result of

which was that he decided to take the steamer through the passage. This was afterwards accomplished with perfect success, and thus a voyage of about 120 miles was saved. There is ample depth of water in the passage, but it is obstructed by trees which appear to have fallen from the banks and to have taken root in the channel. I alluded to this in my despatch of January 3rd, 1889. The passage seemed to me, however, much freer from obstruction than on the occasion of my former visit.

"On Sunday, the 4th, we stayed at Morawhana, and in the morning all attended divine service in the building called the Gold Shed. Bishop Austin, eighty-four years of age, gave an address and a brief narrative of missionary work in British Guiana during his long episcopate of forty-nine years. A number of aboriginal Indians were present. It was an impressive service.

"Before closing the record of our visit to Morawhana, I may mention that Mr. im Thurn reported to me a very great increase in the operations of the gold industry on the Barima since his report was written.

"Gold was first obtained on this river in the month of September 1890. Since that time royalty has been paid on over 150 pounds of gold, of which 110 pounds were reported at Morawhana from May 1st to July 11th. A considerable amount is reported to be now on its way to the Government Station.

"On Monday, the 5th of July at 8 a.m., we left Morawhana in the launch, and passing through the passage commenced our visit to the Waini.

“The tide was running out of the river with great rapidity, and the steamer ‘Horatia,’ which had preceded us, dragged her anchor for nearly a mile. We weighed anchor at about 10 a.m. The water at the mouth of the Waini, which is not less than two miles wide, is very shallow, but deepens after a short distance, and we carried an ample depth to the furthest point of our voyage,—about ninety miles from the mouth. The lower part of the river is swampy and apparently unsuitable for agricultural purposes. At 4.15 p.m., we reached Baramani Station at the junction of the Baramani River.

“From this point boats reach the Moruka and Pomeroun by a series of waterways, as shown on the sketch map annexed. The River Barama¹ enters the Waini about thirteen miles higher up. A glance at the sketch map will show that the site is admirably chosen for a station, as all traffic between the Upper Waini and the Barama and Georgetown must necessarily pass it. All the Barama gold is reported here. An Office of the Government Land Department, a rest house, police station, hospital and dispensary have been erected. So far as the lands around the public buildings are cleared and laid out, they show an amazing richness of soil.

“On Tuesday, the 7th, we left Baramani at 6 a.m., and arrived off the mouth of the Barama at about 7.15. We then proceeded to the Quobanna Mission on the Waini, where a number of Carib and Akawaio Indians were assembled. I distributed among them the presents I had brought, and

¹ This river is not to be confounded with the Barima.

afterwards addressed them in simple, but, I hope, sufficiently expressive terms through the native interpreters. I annex a copy of my address.

“In the evening we returned to Baramani, and on the following day descended the Waini. We left the Waini at about noon on the 8th instant, and reached Georgetown early the next morning.

“The expedition seemed to give much pleasure to all the members of the party, and I have every reason to hope that it may prove of some advantage to the colony.

“Mr. im Thurn has been good enough to prepare at my request a memorandum showing the chief incidents in the development of the North-Western district since my previous visit in December 1888. He has added a note of what he considers to be at present the chief requirements of the district. These matters are all engaging my attention.

“I annex a copy of Mr. im Thurn’s memorandum.

“I have, etc.”

My address may be taken as typical of many I delivered with appropriate variations. It was as follows :

“People of the tribes of the Waini and Barama, your friend the Bishop of Guiana and Mr. Heard and others have taught you to pray to God for all good things that you wish for yourselves and for your children and for your families, and in the service of the Church every Sunday you have learnt to pray God to bless our Gracious Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria. Our Queen Victoria is a great Queen who rules over many peoples and

tribes. When the sun rises to shine upon us he comes from lands where he has been shining on her people, and when he sets he goes to shine upon her people. I have come among you as the servant of our great Queen, being commanded by her to make your wants and your interests my care, and these gentlemen, my friends, who are here with me are all the servants of the Queen chosen to do justice among you, and to make just laws for your protection and to promote your happiness. And the Queen has appointed your friend Mr. im Thurn to be her Agent among you to learn your wants and your wishes and to advise us in order that you may be wisely governed and may cultivate the soil your fathers cultivated, and reap the fruit thereof, and hunt in the great forests in which your fathers hunted, and fish in the great rivers in which your fathers fished, in peace and security. And so we have come among you that we may see and know you and may see and know the land where you dwell, and that you may see and know us, who are the servants of the great Queen Victoria, appointed to be the guardians of your lives and treasures, and of your children and your families, so that you may live in the enjoyment of all things right and good for you."

The result of this expedition was to satisfy the members of the Court of Policy and the Financial Representatives who accompanied me of the wisdom of the policy of expansion and the administrative methods designed to control it. In opening a Session of Combined Court on September 15th

following, I made bold to appeal to the Court to supplement what had been done by providing adequate means of communication and transport. After submitting a proposal that the colony should take part in an International Exhibition to be held at Chicago to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, I added: "Fitly associated with the proposal to make known our resources and industries to the nations who will take part in the World's Columbian Exposition is the proposal to provide for communication by steamer with the North-Western District, with a view to the development of our resources and the encouragement of our industries in a part of the colony of which the importance is now fully recognised. In territorial extent, the North-Western District exceeds the collective area of the Colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, and the Windward and Leeward Islands all put together. In agricultural, forest and mineral resources, it appears to rival the most fortunate of British tropical possessions. Hitherto it has been little known because access to it has been difficult and costly. The proposal to bring it within easy reach by steamer communication is supported by the Chamber of Commerce, the Institute of Mines and Forests, and by a public petition bearing numerous and influential signatures." Continuing, I asked for a vote to cover the preliminary expenses of a survey to enable the Government to prepare a definite scheme of telegraphic communication with the interior.

The votes were sanctioned with enthusiasm, and I well remember an incident, insignificant it may

seem, but which caused me much satisfaction. After the meeting of the Combined Court I expressed my gratitude to one of the Financial Representatives for the generosity with which the necessary ways and means had been granted. He replied, "If you had asked us for the watches in our pockets, we should have taken them out and handed them over."

It is not necessary to follow the progress of the Government Agency in detail. In 1893 I was appointed Governor of the Windward Islands, but before I left British Guiana I was anxious to pay a last visit to the district and take a survey of the work that had been accomplished. An interval following the departure of Lord Gormanston, who had been appointed Governor of Tasmania, gave me a convenient opportunity.

On the occasion of my first visit in December, 1888, the whole administrative apparatus was thus described by Mr. im Thurn in the memorandum I have alluded to :

"An inspector of police with ten constables under him were the only Government servants residing in the district, though the Magistrate of the Pomeroon District (in which the North Western District was then included) paid occasional visits.

"The only buildings in existence were the barracks and Inspector's house at Morawhana ; the barracks and Public Officers' quarters at Baramani, a shed with accommodation for one constable at Ama-koora, and another with accommodation for four constables at Barima Sand. There was no regular means of communication with the district and each

visitor had to provide his own boat and means of penetrating the North-Western District. A survey of the District had just been commenced by the Crown Lands Department."

In the interval a territory of over 9,000 square miles, equal in area to all the West India islands put together, had been equipped with the complete administrative system I have described.

In reporting to the Secretary of State on June 14th, 1893, my tour of inspection, I confined myself to observing that one of my objects was to give members of the Combined Court and others who had not previously visited the district an opportunity of seeing what had been done. I preferred to leave a narrative of the expedition to a member of the Court of Policy, Mr. E. C. Luard, by whose consent I enclosed in my despatch an article he contributed to a local paper, the *Argosy*. It records the names of many who were associated in the development of the territory, but whose share in the work has never been otherwise recognised. With some quotations from his article, I close the record of my work in the expansion of British Guiana in the north-west.

MR. LUARD'S NARRATIVE.

"At 2.20 p.m. on Thursday, 1st June, the special steamer 'Guiana' left Georgetown en route for the North Western District of the Colony, having on board His Excellency the Lieut. Governor, Sir Charles Bruce, K.C.M.G., the Right Rev. W. P. Swaby, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese, the Honble. Dr. J. W. Carrington, C.M.G., the Honble. N.

Darnell Davis, the Honble. Dr. R. Grieve, the Honble. A. Barr, the Honble. E. C. Luard, John Duke Smith, Esq., F.R., George Garnett, Esq., F.R., and B. Howell Jones, Frederick White, and Douglas Young, Esquires. The party was a private one of the Governor's, by whom the expedition had been planned with the characteristic energy of His Excellency, and it will be seen from the above mentioned names, that not only were the State and Church represented, but also the Legal and Medical professions, Literature (N.D.D.), Commerce, and the sugar, gold, timber, and steamship industries,—to say nothing of there being on board the Chairmen of the Quarantine Board and the Central Board of Health, a Major of the B.G. Militia, the Chairman of the Hand-in-Hand and B.G. Mutual Fire Insurance Companies, and a Director of the former, the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, two directors of the British Guiana Bank, besides the President of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society and the President of the Institute of Mines and Forests.

“We entered the Waini River at 6.55 a.m., and going through the Mora Passage, reach Morawhana at 8 o'clock. Some of the party immediately set off for a swim in the river, facilities for a header being afforded by the excellent bathing house erected by the Special Magistrate of the District, Mr. E. R. Anson, near his house. The whole party breakfasted sumptuously at the very charming residence of the Government Agent of the District, E. F. im Thurn, Esq., C.M.G. The surroundings of this

gentleman's house are exceedingly picturesque and inviting, plants of all kinds growing in much luxuriance and profusion, while great and artistic taste is observable everywhere, both in and outside the dwelling. The avenues of casuarina trees, over 40 feet high, planted not yet three years, are a marked feature of the garden. After breakfast the various institutions of Morawhana were visited, the hospital, police barracks, and others, everything being beautifully clean and tidy. The site of the Township seems to have been well selected, and whether in the future another one higher up—if sufficiently high land can be found—will not of necessity spring up, remains to be seen. The Township is situated at the point at which the Mora Passage leaves the Barima, and at about the centre of the waterway which traverses the northern part of the Colony from the mouth of the Essequibo to its northern limits on the Orinoco.

“Bathing, and rambles about the place, made the time pass quickly, until the party, augmented by the officials of Morawhana, sat down to dinner, again the guests of the hospitable Government Agent. The local guests were the Revd. T. E. Quick and Mrs. Quick, Mr. E. R. Anson, the Special Magistrate, Mr. W. A. Harrison, Government Surveyor, Mr. R. Greene, Gold Officer, Mr. N. Cox, Secretary to Government Agent, and Mr. G. G. Dixon, partner in the gold syndicate of Messrs. Garnett, Winter, and Dixon.

“We left Morawhana at 9.30 p.m. on Friday, and steamed down the Barima, reaching ‘Barima Sand’ at 2.30 a.m. on Saturday and anchored there. We

weighed anchor at 5 a.m., and passing out of the river, sighted the Venezuelan Lightship, and rounding the promontory, entered the Amakuru River, and anchored. This river divides Venezuela from British Guiana, and nearly opposite the British Guiana Station are to be seen some half-dozen huts; from a flagstaff fronting them near the river's edge, the Venezuelan flag was lowered, the courtesy being acknowledged by the dipping of the Union Jack on the 'Guiana.' I forgot to mention that on leaving Morawhana, Mr. im Thurn had joined the party. While we were at 'coffee,' Inspector Barnes came on board, and soon after Sir Charles Bruce and some other members of the party went off in a boat to visit the Station. There is not much to be seen here yet, 'not even sugar canes,' as Mr. im Thurn said, but a good beginning has been made. Major Carrington lost no time in having the few resident Police Officers mustered, and then proceeded to put them through their facings. Before we left, the one time notorious Wells presented himself, and craved an interview with His Excellency. Returning on board, and to a certain extent commiserating with Inspector Barnes on his lonely situation—and very lonely and isolated he must feel at times,—we left the station at 8.30 a.m. to return over the same route already mentioned to Morawhana. We had heavy weather after leaving, but about noon the sun came out with a fine cool breeze, which made life very enjoyable. On the return journey we stopped for an hour at 'Barima Sand' police station, and an inspection on shore was duly made. At the station there were

several tame parrots at large, and two fine macaws, one specially fine one from the Orinoco, which, possibly to discourage offers of purchase, the Sergeant Major told us was an especial pet of his wife's. The Police were duly drilled by the Major, and a few Bucks, standing at a respectful distance, seemed much impressed.

"We got back to Morawhana at 5 p.m., and had dinner at 7 30 on board the 'Guiana,' to which all the Morawhana officials were bidden, including the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Quick. After dinner Mr. im Thurn gave a magic lantern exhibition on board, which was much appreciated. All the views shown were photographic ones, taken by the Government Agent himself, representing picturesque spots of the territory, Bucks and Buckeens, Indian games, and so on. Most of the members of the party were billeted for the night on shore.

"Sunday, 4th June. After a delightful swim, we prepared for Church at 11 a.m., the whole party and all the officials of the Township attending the service. The Bishop preached.

"At 3 a.m. on Monday, the 5th June, we left Morawhana and steamed up the Barima, reaching the Anabisci Creek at 10 a.m. Here we were boarded by Mr. F. A. Long, Government Officer at Arakaka. The 'Guiana' anchored here, and the party (with the exception of Dr. Grieve and Messrs. Darnell Davis and Barr—who had decided to enjoy *otium cum dignitate* by themselves on board—) left in the steam launches "Lady Gormanston" and "Lady Bruce" (which had steamed up and were awaiting

us) en route for the Barima gold-fields, *viâ* Koriabo Station. This Station was reached at 1 p.m. On the way up we passed several bateaux-loads of gold diggers. One bateau coming down contained over 20 lbs. of gold, as the register at Koriabo duly recorded. Koriabo Station is a picturesque structure on a high sand reef, formerly the site of an Indian Settlement. From the time we left Koriabo—1.30 p.m.—the launches steamed steadily forward the whole afternoon, until 5 p.m. Several crowded boats of diggers passed, mutual salutations being exchanged. This portion of the Barima is especially lovely. It winds and twists in the most extraordinary way, some of the curves being very sharp. On either side the trees and verdure, tinted by innumerable shades of light, were enchanting. The current was strong against us, increasing in velocity the further we went; and we passed over many fallen ‘tacoubas’ (trees) some hidden entirely under water. The river was reported to be exceptionally high, or navigation would have been impracticable. As it was, the ‘Lady Bruce’ got one nasty unseen knock, of which we were to know more anon. We had now reached a spot a little more than half way between Koriabo and the Arakaka landing, and it was determined to encamp for the night. The launches were securely fastened to the trees, the party jumped on terra firma, and Mr. im Thurn’s Bucks started to cut down trees and build a benab, roofing it with tarpaulins, under which to hang the hammocks for the night. Dinner was served in the launches, the air was deliciously cool, and after dinner we were all ready for turning in.

“For some of us, however, there was to be little rest that night. The ‘Lady Bruce’ was discovered to be leaking badly, and it was not until after day-break next morning that the leak—which took a long time to localise—was patched, and made fairly tight. This had no doubt been caused by the sunken tacouba we had passed over and struck the day before. When the water level is lower than we were fortunate enough to find it, these tacoubas, of which there are said to be a great quantity, must be a source of considerable danger to bateaux traffic, and the sooner all are cleared away the better for the gold industry and all persons concerned. The work should be started with vigour forthwith, and all money expended by the Government with this object in view will be money well spent. Messrs. im Thurn and White were indefatigable in their efforts to get the leak stopped. The intention had been to leave at daybreak next morning, Tuesday, for the Arakaka landing, but fire was not put under the boilers until after 6, and before steam was up at 9, it was announced that the Lt.-Governor had decided to go no further, partly on account of the leaky launch, and for other considerations. Of course this was a very great disappointment, as the Arakaka gold-fields had held out a most delightful prospect to all of us.

“However, there was no help for it, and so with feelings of great regret we left ‘Disappointment Spot,’ as the site of our nocturnal encampment was immediately dubbed, and started on the homeward journey. Koriabo was reached at 11 a.m., and the ‘Guiana’ at Anabisci at 2.30 p.m., the party being

greeted by Dr. Grieve and Messrs. Darnell Davis and Barr, who welcomed us with great enthusiasm, although they had done their best to finish all the ice on board during our absence.

"The return journey as far as Koriabo was not without some excitement owing to the swift current, the numerous sharp twists and turns of the river, the sunken and exposed tacoubas, and the speed at which the launches had to be driven to preserve steerage way in such a strong current. Numerous bright coloured King-fishers darted to and fro, an occasional bush curry-curry showed itself, and large blue butterflies of great brilliancy flitted up and down. The natural beauties of this part of the Barima will well repay a visit.

"Wednesday, 7th June. Left Anabisci at 5.30 a.m., and steamed rapidly with the current for Morawhana. Arrived at 11 a.m. and left immediately, entering the Waini River about 11.45 a.m., having only just succeeded in scraping over the bar. Barimani Station was reached at 5.15 p.m. This station, seen from the steamer, made a very pretty picture, and quite refreshed the eye after the monotony of the long stretch of the Waini through which we had passed. The scenery of the Waini, between its mouth and Barimani, seemed commonplace compared with that of the Barima. On either side of the Waini we had seen an endless mass of mangrove trees, practically unrelieved by foliage of any other kind.

"Arrived at Barimani, His Excellency and several of the party went on shore, and inspected the station. Some of us had a swim. Mr. J. O. Love, the Gold

Officer here, informed us that the amount of gold which passed Barimani last month was the largest which had ever passed in one month, and that on the Upper Waini, seven days' journey by boat from Barimani, 18 placers were now being located. The pineapples growing in front of the Station excited some surprise, on account of their great luxuriance and fertility. I counted six pines, all nearly ripe, growing from one stool. A tremendous downpour of rain now took place, which must have reached nearly two inches in less than an hour. Many of the party preferred the site of Barimani, merely as a spot for a residence, to Morawhana. It was certainly much cooler, and nearly, if not quite, as picturesque.

"Thursday, 8th June. Left Barimani at 7 a.m. on the homeward journey, expecting to reach Georgetown to-morrow morning about 8.30. Exclusive of the 300 miles between the Demerara Light Ship and Waini point, we shall have traversed approximately 538 miles of some of the principal waterways of British Guiana, and very wonderful and grand they are. At each of the Stations we visited, the Lieut.-Governor was careful to visit all the buildings, questioning the officers in charge, and inspecting the books and papers. His Excellency seemed to take a very lively interest in enquiring into, discussing and considering any matters connected with the development of the Gold Industry and the progress of the District generally. It must not be forgotten that to Sir Charles Bruce's energy much of that which has been already accomplished is due, and his name must always remain inseparably

connected, and gratefully remembered, with the beginning and early progress of the Gold Industry of British Guiana. It must also be remembered that to Mr. im Thurn, whose training, aptitude, skill and knowledge, have peculiarly fitted him for the important position of Government Agent, much of the development referred to, so far as relates to the North West District, belongs.

“ Bearing in mind the exceedingly pleasant conditions which prevailed during our tour, it will be easily understood how much the trip has been enjoyed and appreciated. It is to be regretted that these wonderful waterways of the Colony are not better known and understood, as it seems impossible that anyone can visit them without not only gaining knowledge, of which he was ignorant before, but benefiting also materially in other ways.”

E. C. LUARD.

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Waini River, N.W.D., 8th June, 1893.

THE ESSEQUIBO RIVER-SYSTEM

I have hitherto referred to the work of expansion in the north-west of British Guiana, and in the south-west territory of the County of Berbice. But the main highway to the resources of the interior is the great river Essequibo, with its tributaries the Massaruni and the Cuyuni. All these rivers offer formidable difficulties to navigation by reason of their falls and rapids. Mr. M'Turk, Magistrate of the Essequibo, one of the pioneers of inland enterprise, has left on record a graphic

description of an experience on the Cuyuni, which may be taken as generally typical of the perils of navigating these rivers, bearing always in mind that the danger varies in proportion to a varying volume of water at different seasons of the year. Speaking of an expedition connected with a boundary dispute in 1891, he reported :

“On the 14th the boat went twice on the rocks, the first time splitting the larboard streak, and the second time pitching me out, when I got a number of bruises. This was through no fault of the steersman, but because we came so suddenly on the rocks round points above them. We then had to clear a road across an island about 400 yards long, lay rollers, unload, and haul the boat over. This occupied nearly half a day. At 12.30 p.m. we started for the other side.

“The appearance of the river from the lower side of this portage was most appalling; as far as the view was clear the river was a seething mass of broken water, with numerous whirlpools and pointed rocks showing between the waves. We all viewed them with dread, knowing we had to pass over them somehow. Placing myself at the highest part of the lading with the glasses I directed the steersman, and by alternately running and lowering, at 1 p.m. came out into clear water, finishing one of the most dangerous passages through falls it has been my lot to experience. On the 16th January we had to unload and haul over the boat twice owing to the size of the falls swollen by the rains, and again once more on the 17th. On this morning the boat was flung bodily on to a rock by the bursting up of the

water—the uprising of the accumulated water from below. One man who was standing up at the time was thrown several feet clear of the boat, and was driven down the fall, but clung to some bushes below. We jumped on the rock, and at the next uprising of the water the boat swung round and floated off; one man not jumping in in time was left on the rock. As soon as we acquired control over the boat, we picked up the man holding on to the bushes, and went as near as we could to the other on the rock, about forty yards off, as we could get no nearer; he was motioned to swim, and I stood ready with a rope to throw to his assistance; he jumped in and reached the boat safely. We arrived without further mishap at the penal settlement at 10.30 a.m.”

At a very early period of the policy of expansion, it was found that the falls and rapids of the Lower Essequibo made the direct transport of timber from the forests of the upper river practically impossible. After the discovery of gold they made the conveyance of miners and general freight and passengers very costly and dangerous. A great many plans for rendering the river navigable by a system of canals and locks have been and are still being discussed. Quite recently I was invited to join a syndicate to promote an enterprise of this kind. In 1888 the importance of establishing communication by the Essequibo between the capital city of Georgetown and the interior led to two definite proposals. One was to connect the Demerara River with the Upper Essequibo by a

railway, to run from a point below the lower falls of the Demerara to a point above the lower rapids of the Essequibo. The other was to construct a canal contiguous to and parallel with the river Essequibo from the top of the rapids to the bottom, a distance of seven or eight miles.

In March, 1889, a survey and report recommending the Essequibo canal scheme were completed, but no immediate action was taken. In the following year, however, the Potaro, a tributary of the Essequibo, became the principal field of the gold industry, and the necessity for a cheap and safe route from the Upper Essequibo to navigable waters brought to the front the question of overcoming the difficulties and dangers of the Lower Essequibo rapids. In May, 1890, the Colonial Civil Engineer proposed an alternative scheme, substituting for a canal an inclined tramway to carry boats on the bank of the Essequibo parallel to the rapids, but a few months later he withdrew this proposal, reverting to the earlier scheme for connecting the Demerara and the Essequibo by railway. The publication of the scheme was followed by offers from private firms to contract for carrying it out, but it also gave rise to a perplexing amplitude of other proposals. Eventually, on March 5th, 1891, it was resolved in Combined Court that a Committee be appointed by the Governor to inquire and report on the best way of opening up the country above the rapids in the Essequibo river.

The Governor, Lord Gormanston, left the colony a few days later and it devolved upon me to give effect to the resolution of the Court. The

Commission proceeded to take the evidence of the principal representatives of the gold-mining and timber industries, public officers and others, arriving at the conclusion that it would be of advantage to see for themselves and personally survey the country lying between the Demerara and Essequibo rivers, and the river Essequibo itself as far as the Potaro. Accordingly an expedition was arranged under command of Mr. M'Turk, Special Magistrate of the Essequibo. I decided to take part in it, and was accompanied by the Commissioners, the Colonial Civil Engineer, and Dr. F. H. Anderson, of the Medical Service. A full account of the expedition, by Sir John Carrington, Chairman of the Commission, was published in the periodical *Timehri*, the journal of the Agricultural and Commercial Society of the colony, from which I summarise what seems of permanent interest. On May 15th we started from Georgetown and steamed up the Demerara River to Manabadeen Creek, the point proposed for the Demerara terminus of a railway. Our traverse of the country between the Demerara and the Essequibo, partly by canoe and partly on foot, occupied the next three days. It was an interesting journey through much splendour of tropical flora. On May 18th we completed our traverse and arrived at the proposed Essequibo terminus. The Essequibo at this point is a magnificent stream about a mile wide ; it was in full volume as we proceeded to the point where we were to camp for the night. I may observe here that I attribute my good fortune in enjoying perfect health on this and other expeditions to the rule I observed, never to make use of a camp

previously occupied, the disturbance of the ground by a camping party being peculiarly favourable to the conditions that produce malaria. And the operation of pitching a camp is performed with wonderful celerity by the boatmen. They go into the forest with their cutlasses, and soon return with a sufficient number of poles, of the requisite size and length, to make the framework of one or more resting places, as may be necessary. These poles are tied together with bush rope (*lianas*); tarpaulins are then spread over the framework to form a roof, the hammocks are slung inside, and in an hour or so the camp is completed.

The experiences of the next day shall be recounted in Sir John Carrington's own words :

"At 1.20 p.m., we reached the landing-place of Jacobs, Carreiro, and Rosa's placers, situated on the left bank of the River some miles below the mouth of the Omai Creek. Here we landed, and with the exception of Mr. Menzies, who remained behind to superintend his arrangements, we soon set off on foot to see those placers which are reputed to be the richest in the Colony. They are situated on Gilt Creek, a small tributary of Omai Creek, and the most productive of them,—the one to which we were bound,—is distant some four miles from the landing-place. . . . The path, if there can be said to be a path, lies through the bush over a series of hills and ravines, and, what with the hard iron-stone soil, the rough tree-roots, and the mud at intervals, it was not pleasant going. . . . After something more than an hour's sharp walking, we reached the placer, and were very kindly received

by Mr. July and Mr. Forbes in their comfortable little house on the side of the ravine. Imagine a narrow valley or ravine, with the sides rising sharply and clothed at the tops with forest trees, with the reddish clay and darker gravel of the earth in the middle and lower parts of it dug up and thrown about in long ridges and heaps, and with a party of some dozen men at work on a wooden box or sluice in the upper part—and you have a rough picture of the famous placer as we saw it. We went down to the working, and Mr. Forbes took a battel of ‘pay dirt’ and washed it, showing us, as the result, a few particles of gold at the bottom of the vessel. We were also shown the process of washing for gold in the sluice. This consists in one or more men taking up the gold-bearing gravel in a shovel and throwing it into the sluice or long wooden trough, open at the top. Through the sluice a small stream of water runs continually, and at two different points on it there sit two men who disintegrate and wash the gravel over little frames in the sluice, which contain quicksilver. The gold falls to the bottom and becomes attached to the quicksilver, while the gravel and dirt are carried away by the water down the sluice. Mr. Forbes told us that the washing for that day for that sluice would realise about 5 oz. of gold. Lower down in the valley, some months before, the daily yield had been sometimes as much as 6 lbs.

“Before leaving, we were shown some bars of gold and the crucibles in which they were melted. We reached our camp at the landing-place in time

for a bath and a capital dinner, whereat Mr. M'Turk toasted Sir Charles Bruce in suitable wine, as the first Governor of British Guiana who had been on a placer."

I may here conveniently interrupt my narrative of the expedition to say a word on the development of the Omai district, as recorded in Professor Harrison's work on *The Geology of the Gold Fields of British Guiana*. Our knowledge of the geological structure of this district is more complete than our knowledge of any other part of the colony. This is due to the operations of a German syndicate who carried on extensive exploration work under the charge of Dr. Emil Lungwitz, of New York. He has described the work of development in a monograph, *Ueber die regionalen Veränderungen der Goldlagerstätten*, and in the *Zeitschrift für praktische Geologie*. During the years 1902-07, the small area of about forty-five acres which had been worked produced 58,794 ounces of gold, representing an approximate value of £240,000. On the subject of the future of the gold industry in British Guiana, I may appropriately add a valuable extract from an article contributed by Mr. E. G. Braddon to the *Mining Journal* in May and June, 1904 :

"The Guiana alluvial gold fields are possibly the richest existing to-day. . . . These gold fields are, further, amongst the most extensive of the world. The payable fields already proved cover upwards of one thousand square miles, whilst a great part of the Colony still remains unprospected. The volume of worked ground, which can all be profitably re-worked by properly devised hydraulick-

ing, is unimportant in relation to that which remains untouched, even on the established fields.

“The gold-bearing so-called alluvia of Guiana have one very important and special characteristic: they are not confined to the true alluvial drifts of rivers and creeks, as in most countries, but embrace a very great extent of enriched surface and payable decomposed country rock.

“The possibilities of discovering lode forms of deposits in the process of hydraulicking off the surface residual matters are very real and attractive. There are many other special natural advantages for mining in Guiana against few natural disabilities. The Colony has the elements for a very large development of hydraulic mining and dredging, which should directly lead to the discovery and be accompanied by the opening of valuable lode, or lode forms, of deposits. For the successful prosecution of such operations moderate capitalisations are wanted, with intelligent, experienced, honest, and practical direction, towards definite, clearly perceived, well-chosen, and steadfastly followed purposes. The circumstances are in every way favourable for the activities of private enterprise from outside.”

The next day we reached the Potaro. Opposite the mouth of the Potaro the Essequibo is very wide and lake-like, and the line of demarcation between its light-coloured waters and the reddish-brown peaty waters of the Potaro is clearly traced. Continuing our journey we arrived at the furthest point of our expedition, the Tumatumari Falls, and arranged to pitch our camp a little below them on

the left bank. The Falls, about half a mile in width, are broken by many islands. It is a fine sight to see the immense mass of water hurled down among rocks and hollows, and broken into foam as it dashes over barriers of granite. We paddled across the foot of the Falls, skilfully steered by Mr. M'Turk through the whirling current till we reached the portage he had constructed a few months before on the right bank, to facilitate the transport of boats and stores to the mines above the Falls. On May 21st we commenced our return journey, and the swift current quickly carried us down to our camp at the head of the lower Essequibo rapids. In the course of the day, we passed many gold-mining expeditions bound for the Potaro. On Friday, May 22nd, we started early on our last and longest journey through the lower Essequibo rapids. At 11.30 a.m. we landed on Moonerie Island, a rocky islet at the head of the Falls to make our final arrangements. Mr. M'Turk acted as captain of my tent-boat which was steered by an old Indian who had been many years in his service. The steering is done by means of a huge paddle, secured by a rope to the stern of the boat in an upright position. In the bow stands the "bowman" with a similar paddle not made fast. The Falls consist of seven or eight more or less swift and turbulent rapids occupying the course of the river for as many miles, with intervals of smooth water between them. The most difficult and dangerous rapids, called respectively Maribi and Tabinetta, lie next to one another above the middle of the series. At times the boat passes close to huge chasms into which the

water rushes with great force and is curled back in a great wave. The passage through the rapids occupied a little more than an hour.

I returned to Georgetown on May 24th, and on June 1st, started on my final tour through the north-western district, of which an account has already been given. This closed the record of my services in developing the resources of what has been justly styled the Magnificent Province of British Guiana. The years that have since elapsed have brought to light the wealth of its undeveloped resources, and the time may not be far distant when the story of the evolution of the Government Agency of the north-western district may serve as an object-lesson for the establishment of similar agencies.

I may add that the Demerara-Essequibo railway scheme was carried out in due time, and the line opened for traffic in 1897.

CHAPTER XXVII

DEFENCE

THE struggle for the control of the tropics during the later years of the Victorian era proved our tropical colonies to be of political and commercial necessity to the Empire. At the same time it was made abundantly clear that naval supremacy is the condition of our tenure. Taken collectively, it is probable that no group of communities in the world has so large a proportion of commerce exposed to so great an ocean risk ; while in many of them the food of the population depends entirely on sea-borne supply. I do not propose to discuss the principles of their defence, or any scheme of operations subordinate to those principles. But the question of the incidence of the burden of Imperial defence, a question that more than any other has modified our colonial policy from the earliest times, has recently acquired an importance recognised as paramount by all our self-governing colonies. In the matter of Imperial protection there is a broad line of demarcation between our self-governing and our Crown colonies. The self-governing colonies have absolute control over the administration of their internal

policy, while the Imperial Government has hitherto been bound, as a condition on which alone the self-governing colonies consent to form constitutional parts of the Empire, to hold them immune from the consequences of a policy over which it has no control. In the Crown colonies the control of every department of internal affairs and external relations are, in the last resort, under the control of the Imperial Government with the logical consequence that the Imperial Government is, in the last resort, responsible for their protection from disorder within and aggression from without. From the point of view of defence, the Crown colonies may be grouped in two categories,—colonies that are garrisoned by Imperial troops and colonies that are not. It has never been a principle of British rule that Crown colonies not garrisoned by Imperial troops should provide or contribute for their external defence; but they have been bound to maintain some kind of force adequate to put down disorder, and also to defend the colony against foreign aggression during the period which must elapse before a requisition for assistance to the nearest naval or military base can be complied with. I will endeavour to illustrate from my personal experience the working of the system, first, in a colony where the Imperial garrison was withdrawn, and it became necessary to constitute an adequate force in substitution; secondly, in colonies from which garrisons had long been withdrawn; and thirdly, in garrisoned colonies.

Early in the year 1891 the Government of British Guiana was informed that the colony would

immediately cease to be garrisoned by Imperial troops. This measure had been so long contemplated and so long postponed that for years similar warnings had been treated as cries of *Wolf*. Nevertheless, sometime previously the colony had thought it prudent to protest against the proposal, and had offered to bear the whole cost of an Imperial garrison. At a session of the Combined Court in February, 1891, the Governor, Lord Gormanston, called attention to the matter, and intimated that measures for the maintenance of a suitable and reliable local force were under consideration. Lord Gormanston was to leave the colony in a few days, and hoped to be able to make representations at home which would induce the Imperial Government to reconsider its determination, or at least to postpone once more the removal of the garrison. In March he left, but, before he had time to do anything, I was, on April 1st, informed by the officer commanding the troops that he had received orders from the General Officer commanding at Barbados for the detachment of the West India Regiment, quartered at Georgetown, to move to St. Lucia on the 9th of the month. On the 6th, however, I was informed that this order had been cancelled pending further instructions. The delay was not long, and in a few weeks the removal of the garrison was completed.

In the meantime it became necessary for me to take immediate steps to provide for the protection of the colony. In British Guiana, as generally throughout the West Indies, the apprehension of internal disorder was a much more powerful

motive than the fear of external aggression. There was also, as now, the economic motive of a desire to retain Imperial garrisons, which more or less directly contribute to the circulation of money in a colony. I may add that at the time the garrison was under orders to move there was a great deal of anxiety in British Guiana, arising out of the murder of an Indian coolie by a Portuguese resident, to which I have referred in a former chapter dealing with the subject of the exercise of the clemency of the Crown. On April 6th I caused a letter to be addressed to the Inspector General, Colonel the Hon. Richard Stapleton Cotton, pointing out that it was of urgent importance that he should be prepared to meet the possibility of internal disturbance, and should be ready at any moment to deal with either of the following contingencies :

(1) A riot in Georgetown ;

(2) A riot in the counties of Demerara, Essequibo, or Berbice ;

bearing in mind that any such disturbance might be due to the action of the general community or of the East Indian immigrants resident in the colony.

In organising a scheme of defence, I assumed that the protection of the colony against invasion must mainly depend upon the Imperial naval and military forces, and that such forces would be available in the case of serious domestic disturbance. In either case, however, it was certain that there must be a period of delay before the arrival of the troops, during which the burden of protection would have to be borne by a territorial force.

The scheme I prepared contemplated a territorial force of three dimensions: the Police, a body of Rural Constabulary, and a local military organisation in substitution of the existing Militia and Volunteer systems.

The constitution and duties of the Police, to form the first line of defence, were defined in my scheme as follows: "There shall be established in and for this colony a Police Force, which shall be an armed semi-military force and shall be employed for the prevention and detection of crime, the repression of internal disturbance, and the defence of the colony against external aggression."

The constitution and duties of the Rural Constabulary were thus defined: "There shall be established in and for this colony a Rural Constabulary, which shall consist of such officers and non-commissioned officers and constables as may be appointed as hereinafter mentioned.

"The principal objects for which the Rural Constabulary are established are that they may be capable—

- (1) In time of peace, of acting as an efficient auxiliary to the Police Force in the performance of their ordinary duties, and
- (2) In time of external aggression, or of internal disturbance, of at once assuming, to such an extent as may be found requisite, the ordinary duties of the Police Force."

The military organisation to be substituted for the Militia and Volunteer systems I called a Volunteer-Militia. It included an active and a reserve force.

The story of the evolution of this territorial force

can best be told by extracts from the despatches in which it was reported to the Secretary of State. For reasons which need not now be discussed that part of the scheme which included the organisation of the body called the Volunteer-Militia Force met with some opposition at the Colonial Office on the ground that it would have been better to postpone it. I leave the vindication of my prompt action to the explanation presented in my despatch of October 6th, 1891.

I must premise that early in April Colonel Cotton's health broke down from the strain of overwork. In reply to my urgent appeal, the Secretary of State immediately appointed, as his successor, Lieut.-Colonel E. B. M'Innis, a distinguished officer, who had served with the 9th Lancers on Lord Roberts's march from Kabul to Kandahar, at the time Commandant of the local forces in Trinidad.

On April 8th I addressed the following despatch to Lord Knutsford.

Government House,
Georgetown, 8th April, 1891.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 38 of the 17th of March respecting the relative advantages of Volunteer, Militia, and Police Forces as a means of defence for the Colony.

"Lord Gormanston before his departure left with me the rough draft of a scheme for the reorganisation of the Militia of which he has taken a copy

to England, with the intention of submitting it to your Lordship. Lord Gormanston also took with him, and promised to consider, a note of a plan for the formation of a Volunteer-Militia corps which I ventured to suggest.

“In order to secure the adequate organisation of the Police Force for the duties which will be thrown upon it by the withdrawal of the troops, I addressed a letter to the Inspector General of Police, of which I annex a copy, as well as of the reply which I received from Colonel Cotton.

“Colonel Cotton’s schemes for the reorganisation of the Police Force and of the Rural Constabulary have been seen and approved by Lord Gormanston, and I have therefore no hesitation in proceeding with them.

“Briefly stated, what seems to be essential in the reorganisation of the Police Force is, to secure :

(1) The maintenance of a small body of well-disciplined constables at Georgetown available for service at a moment’s notice in any of the contingencies enumerated in my letter to the Inspector General. I do not think that this detachment need consist of more than from eighty to one hundred men, which would be fully equal to the average strength of the detachment of the West India Regiment during the last few years.

(2) The reorganisation of the staff of the Police Force with a view to a more efficient local control and superintendence.

(3) The reorganisation of the Rural Constabulary.

“ With a reorganised Police Force, I concur with Colonel Cotton in thinking that the security of the Colony might be considered sufficiently provided for without either Militia or Volunteers. I am nevertheless of opinion that the maintenance of a force of Militia or Volunteers is of importance both as an auxiliary to the Police Force, and because I consider that the habits of discipline and precision encouraged by a military training are of incalculable value as an educational agency in a Colonial community. Nor do I overlook the advantages of the sentiment of manly loyalty which the officers of a Militia or Volunteer corps have many opportunities of promoting.

“ While the consideration of a complete and comprehensive scheme of Militia or Volunteer organisation is under consideration, I believe that a useful auxiliary corps may be maintained at a trifling cost by a modification of the existing Militia and Volunteer ordinances on the following lines :

1. All persons of due age and qualification to be liable to service ;
2. All such persons to be registered according to their electoral districts ;
3. The following companies to form the strength of the force :

DEMERARA AND GEORGETOWN.

One company artillery ; three companies line.

ESSEQUIBO.

One company line.

BERBICE.

One company line.

4. The full strength of each company to be one hundred ; the minimum strength sixty ;

5. The minimum strength to be obtained so far as possible by volunteers ; the deficiency, if any, to be supplied by ballot from the electoral districts, each of which will be liable to furnish a contingent ; the ballot will be limited to electoral districts which have not furnished their full contingent ;

6. Volunteers to be enrolled for three years ;

7. Volunteers after three years' service to have the option of re-enlisting, or may be transferred to a reserve force liable to be called upon for actual service ;

8. The strength of the reserve to be equal to the difference between the maximum and minimum strength of the company ;

9. Volunteers to be entitled to certificates of proficiency with a money value attached to them, and all who have gained such certificates to be entitled to payment for attendance when called out.

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“I did not keep any copy of the note I gave Lord Gormanston, referred to in the second paragraph of this despatch, but it was nearly in the terms I have stated.

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“I have, etc.”

On April 22nd I transmitted to the Secretary of State a copy of a statement in which I had, on the 14th of the month, explained the scheme of defence to the Court of Policy.

“ In pursuance of a policy long under preparation orders were recently received for the immediate withdrawal of the small force of Imperial troops hitherto maintained in the colony, and although the date of withdrawal has been for the moment postponed it seems none the less incumbent on me to lay before you without unnecessary delay the measures which have for some time been under consideration with a view to adjusting the organisation of our local forces to the new Imperial policy. In accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the defences of the Empire appointed 1879, the number of garrisons scattered throughout the colonies is being reduced and the Imperial troops are being concentrated in positions of vital importance. For strategic reasons in connection with the operations of the Imperial navy in West Indian waters it has been decided to concentrate the Imperial troops at Jamaica and St. Lucia. A memorandum recently issued by the Colonial Defence Committee shows that in the adoption of the new system the position of British Guiana and of the West Indian colonies has been regarded with equal consideration for our interests in peace and war. The memorandum contained the following passages :

‘ As regards protection against internal disturbance, the concentration which has been decided upon will facilitate the rapid despatch of troops to any point where their services might be required, while the training and efficiency of the force must necessarily benefit by the cessation of interference with its regimental organisation.

‘There has been no question of abandoning any of the West India colonies, or of leaving them to their own unaided resources in the event of war. The policy adopted by Her Majesty’s Government is based upon the broad principle that the protection of the West Indies as a whole must depend upon the navy operating in sufficient force, and that the Imperial defences on shore should be such only as will facilitate the operations of the navy in keeping the sea clear of an enemy’s vessels.’

“This authoritative statement of the principles of the policy now being carried out has only to be understood and appreciated to remove an impression which seems to exist, that the withdrawal of a small detachment of the West India Regiment from Georgetown is tantamount to a withdrawal from the colony of the protection hitherto accorded by the Imperial forces. On the contrary it is clearly of the essence of the new policy to bring the colony in the event either of aggression or of internal disturbance within easy reach of the operations of naval and military forces absolutely overwhelming in efficiency as compared with the strength of the small and isolated garrison hitherto maintained.

“The Royal Commission of 1879 nevertheless added to their recommendations in favour of the system now being carried out a strong recommendation that the colonies to be affected by the new policy, ‘should take prompt measures to organise their own police.’ This recommendation has not been lost sight of in British Guiana. Mr. Cox, the late Inspector General of Police, was ever urgent in his desire for a reorganisation of the

police, so that on the removal of the imperial troops from Georgetown an adequate force in substitution for them should be ready at hand. And this object has been constantly borne in mind by Colonel Cotton, whose schemes for the reorganisation of the police and the auxiliary force known as Rural Constables it is the desire of the Government to give effect to by ordinances which the Attorney-General will introduce to-day.

“As the Attorney-General will explain the provisions of these measures I will confine myself to a sketch of the outlines of the new system. As regards the Police Force, it is based on a reconstruction of the staff in such a way as to establish a well-defined chain of responsibility in relation to the territorial divisions of the colony. For this purpose it is proposed to appoint Superintendents of the counties of Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo, each of whom will be directly responsible to the Inspector-General for the maintenance of order and the carrying out of the duties of the police in the county assigned to him. The counties will be divided into inspectoral districts, in each of which an Inspector will be appointed directly responsible to the County Superintendent for the proper conduct of the duties of the police in his district; and to this Inspector the non-commissioned officers will be directly responsible. In order to secure the efficiency of the force with particular reference to their employment in substitution of the Imperial troops it is proposed to appoint an adjutant and musketry instructor. This officer will be in charge of a depot, which we propose to establish in the

present military barracks, where a detachment of the force will pass through a course of military training, and will be in readiness to be detailed at a moment's notice for service in case of disturbance from whatever cause and in any part of the colony. After a certain period these trained constables will be redrafted into the general force and their place taken by others, so that in time the force will consist, at least for the most part, of men who have gone through a competent military training

"In the month of September, 1889, the Inspector General of Police submitted to the Government proposals for the reorganisation of the Rural Constabulary, declaring his belief that out of the existing disorganised materials a very efficient body of men could be made available for police duties at a trifling cost. On October 2nd these proposals were transmitted by circular to the Stipendiary Magistrates for their opinion and for any suggestions they might wish to offer as to carrying them out. The opinions of the Magistrates generally confirmed the views expressed by the Inspector General, as to the inefficiency of the existing system and the urgent necessity for reorganisation, and their suggestions having been considered, a further circular was issued in June of last year requesting the views of the Magistrates on certain additional and more detailed proposals submitted by Colonel Cotton. The answer to this circular having been received, Colonel Cotton in October last submitted an amended scheme which would have been proceeded with at once in

connection with his scheme for the reorganisation of the Police but for the serious indisposition which compelled Colonel Cotton to leave the colony. Since his return he has had an opportunity of finally considering and perfecting his proposals. Into the details of the scheme as it now stands I need not enter, as a bill to make provision for the better reorganisation of the Rural Constabulary will be introduced to-day by the Attorney-General. I will only say that the principal objects of the measure are to secure at all times an efficient auxiliary to the Police Force in the performances of their ordinary duties, and in times of disturbance, either from without or within, a body of men capable of at once assuming to such extent as may be found requisite the ordinary duties of the Police Force. In this way the concentration of the Police Force at any disturbed point will be effected without risk to the maintenance of order and without interruption of the ordinary police duties in the districts from which the regular force may have been temporarily removed.

“The reorganisation of the Police Force and the reconstruction of the Rural Constabulary represent the mature result of the experience gained by Colonel Cotton during his administration. The last days of his brief, but honourable and useful career in the service of the colony were devoted to perfecting the details of his schemes and in assisting the Attorney-General in the preparation of the ordinances to carry them into effect which he will introduce to-day.

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"I am glad to have been able to lay before you to-day the Report of the Inspector General for the year 1890. It furnishes ample evidence of the good results of his administration on the tone, discipline, and general efficiency of the force, and can hardly fail to inspire additional confidence in the soundness and wisdom of his proposals for the future administration of the Police and Constabulary of the colony.

"The Colonial Defence Committee, while advocating the organisation of the Police as a force readily available in substitution of the local garrisons withdrawn for the centralisation of the Imperial naval and military forces, have urged that where any fighting spirit exists and wherever the manhood of the colony is actuated by a determined spirit of self-defence the organisation of auxiliary local forces should be encouraged by every possible means. British Guiana may fairly claim to be included in the category of colonies thus indicated, and the traditions of the local auxiliary forces justify the belief that a combination of the principles upon which our Militia and Volunteer ordinances are based may easily be adapted to the maintenance of an auxiliary force which will meet all requirements for defensive purposes, and at the same time serve as a school for the training of our youths in manly physical pursuits and in habits of discipline and precision, of priceless worth in the building up of young communities.

"At the last meeting of Combined Court the vote of 6000 dollars for Volunteers was passed on the understanding that expenditure on account of this vote would not be made without the sanction

of the Court of Policy. Fears were at that time entertained that the spirit which had once maintained and animated our Volunteer Force was dead, but the last week has shown I think conclusively that these fears are groundless; and I hope that the Court will agree to accept a resolution which will be proposed to sanction such expenditure as may be found necessary to support the volunteer force, under the provisions of the existing law, pending the consideration of an ordinance which will be introduced by the Attorney-General for the establishment of an auxiliary force on the lines I have laid down. To complete a scheme of defence appropriate to the circumstances of British Guiana a proposal was made several years ago by the then Inspector General of Police, Mr. Cox, with the view of obtaining the services of an Imperial gun-boat for the protection of the colony. At that time an accidental circumstance seemed likely to be followed by the immediate withdrawal of the troops in garrison, but the occasion passed and the proposal was not further urged. In the course of last year, however, Commander Graham, of Her Majesty's ship 'Ready,' suggested that one or more stern-wheel steamers of light draft of the type of the steamers 'Herald' and 'Mosquito' employed on the Zambesi River might with advantage be provided, which would serve generally for the purpose of police and revenue cruisers and might be relied on to render important service for defensive purposes. At our request estimates have been furnished by the Admiralty showing the cost of construction, equipment, transport, etc., as well as the cost of annual maintenance

of steamers of this type. The cost of construction, equipment, transport, etc., is estimated at about £11,000; and the annual maintenance, inclusive of crew, but exclusive of cost of fuel, at a little over £3000.

“Should the measures which will be introduced to-day secure the acceptance of the Court of Policy, I shall be prepared at the proper time to summon a special session of Combined Court to discuss such items of expenditure as may be found necessary.”

On the same day on which I transmitted this statement to the Secretary of State, I reported progress in another despatch.

Government House,
Georgetown, 22nd April, 1891.

“MY LORD,

“With reference to my despatch No. 125 of this date, so far as relates to the establishment of a Militia or Volunteer Force, I have the honour to acquaint you that I learnt by the last mail that a Militia ordinance on lines similar to the scheme proposed by this Government and explained in the statement made by me in the Court of Policy on the 14th instant has been passed in Jamaica. The details of the Jamaica ordinance are in the hands of the Attorney-General, and will be considered in drafting a Bill for an Auxiliary Force in this colony.

“In the meantime I transmit a copy of a report drawn up by Major Turner, commanding the British Guiana Volunteers, and showing the measures taken

during the last fortnight, since I was notified of the contemplated immediate removal of the troops, to ascertain how far the Volunteers can be relied on as a force immediately available as an auxiliary to the Police.

“Your Lordship will, I trust, recognise that Major Turner has acted with energy, and that the Volunteers have shown a manly spirit fully justifying my confidence that they may be relied on as an available force pending the further consideration of the measures proposed for the establishment of an auxiliary force. I observe that the auxiliary force established under the Jamaica ordinance is called a Militia. It may be simpler to designate the force intended to be raised here ‘Militia,’ instead of ‘Volunteer Militia’ as has been proposed, but this is a matter of trifling importance.

“I have, etc.”

(*Enclosure.*)

MAJOR TURNER *to* THE GOVERNMENT SECRETARY.

Head Quarters,
British Guiana Volunteers,
21st April, 1891.

‘SIR,

‘In compliance with the expressed wish of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, I have the honour to report as follows on the present state of the Volunteer Force under my command.

‘It is unnecessary for me to enter into the causes which led to the suspension of drills in September

1889, but I may state that at that time I should have experienced no difficulty whatever in raising a force of 400 men in Georgetown alone had I been called upon to do so.

‘On the 7th instant His Excellency was good enough to consult me with reference to the position of the Volunteer Force, and whether it could be relied upon by the Government as a factor of any importance in any scheme of local defence which might be devised. I replied to His Excellency, as I have repeatedly replied both officially and otherwise to the same question, that I felt thoroughly satisfied 1000 men could be raised in Georgetown alone if the Government really desired to raise and equip that number, and set about the task in an earnest and business-like way, and I pledged myself to have between one and two hundred men on parade within twenty-four hours if they were required. His Excellency was pleased to direct that I should order a parade at once, and I accordingly issued a Corps Order, which appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 8th instant, ordering a parade of A. B. and C. Companies in the Drill Hall on the 8th instant at 8 p.m. In obedience to this order 146 men paraded in the Drill Hall on the day and at the hour above named. I addressed the men on the subject for which I had brought them together, and the report of the proceedings which I take from the *Daily Chronicle* gives, but in a very disjointed manner, the substance of my remarks; the main point I dwelt upon was that the Government desired to know whether the Volunteers could be depended upon as a factor in

the calculations about being made respecting the defence of the colony. I think if any of those persons had been present who, despite all facts, decry the Volunteer movement, and deny that any fighting spirit exists among the youth of the colony, the bright eyes and eager animated faces of the 150 men who stood in front of me as I spoke would have convinced them of their error.

‘ Since that evening drill has gone steadily on, and the uniforms, which have been lying in the Drill Hall unpacked awaiting the orders of the Government for over a year, are being distributed to A. B. and C. companies, and on Tuesday next I shall send thirty uniforms to the Berbice company. At the present moment 123 have been distributed as under :

A company	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49
B do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
C do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
								<hr/>
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	123

‘ We are now drilling five nights each week, getting from forty to fifty men in attendance from A. and B. companies, and between sixty and seventy from C. Last evening C. company mustered eighty-four men of all ranks.

‘ On Sunday next I have ordered a Church Parade at 4.30 p.m. at the Pro-Cathedral, and I anticipate parading quite 200 men.

‘ The material of the several Georgetown companies requires a word or two of comment. A. and B. companies are made up of working men, almost exclusively, and are mainly black. Some difficulty

has been experienced in getting these men to afternoon drill on account of their employers having little or no sympathy with the Volunteer movement. It would be a great point gained if under the new law some means could be devised of reaching these employers.

‘C. company is composed mainly of clerks, and are nearly all white or slightly coloured. This company is very popular, and recruits are coming forward for it very freely. I swore in thirty-one last evening.

‘With regard to the spirit of the men, I cannot speak too highly of the way they behaved during the riots of March 1889, and to illustrate this I give, as an appendix to this report, an extract from my annual report for last year.

‘The state of coma into which the Volunteer movement has been for so long allowed to remain has had an injurious effect on the Berbice Corps, and Captain Griffin reports that he has at present only about thirty reliable men in his company. I am in correspondence with him with reference to the supply of uniforms for these men.

‘The Essequibo company has not assembled for drill for some months, and I can therefore form no idea of the number we could rely upon for immediate service from that county. I asked Mr. Gilzean, the manager of Anna Regina estate, some time ago if he would take command of the Essequibo company when we began drilling, and he said he would gladly do so. This will, I think, assure the formation of a strong company in Essequibo, as Mr. Gilzean is deservedly popular.

‘In closing this report, I desire to repeat what I have so often said, that I believe there is ample material in the colony to furnish a force sufficient to protect ourselves from insult from abroad, or to suppress disturbance from within, if proper measures be taken to utilize it.

‘I have, etc.,

W. S. TURNER,
Major,
Commanding B.G. Volunteers.’

The story of the organisation of the Volunteer-Militia is told in my despatches to the Secretary of State of September 23rd and October 6th, 1891.

Government House,
Georgetown, 23rd September, 1891.

“MY LORD,

“With reference to my despatches noted in the margin relative to the Volunteer-Militia ordinance 1891 and the appointment of officers to the paid staff, I have the honour to inform you that the ordinance was brought into force on the 1st of August last, and to transmit a concise report by the Commandant, Lt.-Colonel Turner, on the state of the force. The present strength consists entirely of men who are enrolled for three years. It is gratifying to find that but a small number of the Volunteers serving under the Volunteer ordinance 1878 have availed themselves of the power to resign given them by section 149 (3) of the Volunteer-Militia ordinance. The time allowed by

the ordinance expired on September 1st. For this result I consider that much credit is due to Lt.-Colonel Turner.

“Under the provisions of section 129 of the ordinance I have placed the Volunteers whenever performing any parade under the inspection of Lt.-Colonel M’Innis, C.M.G., Inspector General of Police, an arrangement which will, I believe, be of great advantage to the Volunteers, and will secure uniformity of drill and movement in the two branches of our local forces.

“I cannot too highly commend the services which Lt.-Colonel M’Innis has rendered the Volunteer-Militia force. In the absence of a paid staff of qualified officers the very existence of the force might have been imperilled but for his generous assistance.

“In the circumstances, I have considered it my duty to act unreservedly on his advice in all military matters affecting the force, and at his suggestion I addressed a letter, of which I annex a copy, to the Major-General Commanding the Troops, Barbadoes, asking for the temporary loan of two smart sergeants as drill instructors.

“I have not yet heard whether my request can be complied with, but in any case the early appointment of an adjutant and the non-commissioned officers, referred to in my despatch of July 15th, is looked forward to with eager anticipation by all ranks of the Volunteer-Militia force.

“I have, etc.”

Government House,
Georgetown, 6th October, 1891.

“MY LORD,

“I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship’s despatch No. 196 of September 8th, and telegram of the 5th instant, relative to the Volunteer-Militia ordinance 1891.

“In view of the terms of your Lordship’s despatch and telegram it seems desirable that I should offer some explanations touching (1) the procedure followed in the enactment of the ordinance, and (2) the substance of the ordinance.

“As regards the procedure, the measures by which it was proposed to provide local forces in substitution of the Imperial troops removed from the colony were shown generally in the statement I made in the Court of Policy on April 14th, a copy of which was transmitted to your Lordship by my despatch No. 125 of April 22nd. The removal of the troops before any system in substitution had been organised produced, as was anticipated, a temporary sentiment of insecurity in the colony. The Government was urged, and undoubtedly with reason, to pass immediate measures for the defence of the colony and the protection of life and property. I should have considered it a dereliction of duty not to take advantage of the public opinion of the moment to proceed as rapidly as possible with the measures intended to meet the emergency.

“At the moment I was without funds for the purposes of a local military force. The vote of 6000 dollars annually taken for a Volunteer force

was in the month of March last passed on a promise that it would not be used until a new system was substituted for that established by the Volunteer ordinance 1878. Taking advantage of the public opinion of the moment, I obtained an unanimous vote of the Court of Policy to set free this sum on the understanding that the enactment of a new system would be at once proceeded with. The Bills for the reorganisation of the Police and of the Rural Constabulary were passed through their various stages on the following dates :—

“Police Ordinance,—first reading, April 14th; second reading and in Committee, June 9th; in Committee, read a third time and passed, June 16th.

“Rural Constabulary Ordinance—first reading, April 14th; second reading, April 28th; In Committee, June 9th; third reading and passed, June 16th.

“The Volunteer-Militia Bill was read a first time on April 14th, and passed its second reading on June 16th. At this stage I felt constrained to pause for two reasons. In the first place, I was anxious, so far as delay was consistent with the interests of the colony, to obtain an expression of your Lordship’s opinion on the measures proposed for the defence of the colony on the departure of the troops, and of which my despatches noted in the margin had informed your Lordship. But I was also controlled by the peculiar constitution of the colony, which would have made it useless for me to enact a measure in the Court of Policy requiring a considerable expenditure of public money without the consent of the Combined Court. I therefore

followed the course adopted in the case of the Constitution ordinance 1891, with reference to the Civil List. I left the Volunteer-Militia Bill in Committee and summoned a meeting of the Combined Court with a view to ascertaining how far the Court would sanction the expenditure necessary to carry out the provisions of the Bill.

“The Combined Court met on June 30th and I then ascertained the limits of expenditure at the disposal of the Government in connection with the Bill. On July 8th I received your Lordship’s despatch No. 128 of June 16th approving, subject to certain suggestions made by the Colonial Defence Committee, my proposals for a Volunteer-Militia.

“I then felt justified in proceeding with the Bill, which was read a third time and passed on July 10th. As reported in my despatch No. 228 of July 14th the suggestions of the Colonial Defence Committee were included in the ordinance so far as was deemed practicable.

“During the interval which elapsed between the removal of the troops and the passing of the Volunteer-Militia ordinance, I had abundant proof that the immediate enactment of a measure in substitution of the Volunteer ordinance of 1878 was necessary. The spirit displayed by Major Turner and the Volunteers on the departure of the troops was in every way creditable, and has been honoured by your Lordship’s approval. But the force had not been on parade for a year and a half, it had no staff of qualified officers or non-commissioned officers, the Georgetown companies had only four officers, of whom three were reported as useless; the

enthusiasm which called them to the front in April was exhausting itself for want of legitimate exercise. It was an essential part of the Volunteer-Militia Bill, approved by your Lordship, that the Volunteer Force enrolled under the ordinance of 1878 should form the nucleus of the new system. Had I allowed time for the discouragement of the Volunteers to increase under the circumstances I have indicated, the force could not have been looked to for this purpose. I may here also remark that had I allowed such a spirit of discouragement to set in, before obtaining the funds required for the new system, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to obtain them. They would certainly not have been voted with the readiness with which money was voted by the Combined Court on June 30th. I will only add, while dealing with this part of the subject, that the Combined Court voted the money on the understanding that the Bill would be proceeded with at once, and without material alteration. This was in accordance with the course followed in the case of the Constitution ordinance of 1891 and the Civil List.

“The ordinance having been passed, every consideration of duty and expediency urged me to bring it into early operation. Particularly, it was necessary to ascertain to what extent that part of the ordinance which provided for the old Volunteer Force being taken over as the nucleus of the new system might prove successful. Your Lordship has already been informed by my despatch of September 23rd that so far the success of the ordinance is complete.

“But to continue my narrative, the ordinance was brought into force on August 1st, its operation being temporarily limited, by orders of which I annex copies, to Georgetown and New Amsterdam, where companies had been enrolled under the Volunteer ordinance of 1878.

“There has been a great desire shown to join the battery of artillery contemplated by the ordinance, but at present it would be useless to raise it, as we have neither guns nor instructors.

“I have been assured that a company can readily be raised in Essequibo, but I decided to wait until the Government is in a position to judge of the operation of the scheme in Georgetown and New Amsterdam. It would be useless to raise a company in Essequibo, where no nucleus of Volunteers exists, without qualified instructors.

“In my opinion the force enrolled in Georgetown and New Amsterdam is sufficient for all present purposes, and it would be unwise to increase the strength of the force until the efficiency of the present Volunteers is secured.

“I will now respectfully invite your Lordship's attention to the few remarks which I desire to make on the substance of the ordinance, and in these I shall not think it necessary to adhere to the order in which its various provisions are dealt with in the ordinances.

“The essential aims of the ordinance may be thus briefly stated:

(1) To take over an existing Volunteer Force and reorganise it as the nucleus of a new system:

(2) To maintain the Volunteer system so far as it

can be depended on to supply such a force as may be considered necessary for the defence of the colony and the protection of life and property :

(3) To provide for the compulsory maintenance of a local force, at such strength as may be determined by ballot, should the Volunteer system prove insufficient :

(4) To give the Governor almost absolute power to fix the necessary strength of the force and to control its discipline, government, and administration.

“ I may be permitted to point out that in the substance of this ordinance an endeavour has been made to distinguish between the civil and military functions with which it deals. What part of the community is to come under the obligation of military service, and by what methods the obligation is to be imposed, have been considered as civil questions; the strength of the force required for any scheme of defence decided on by the military authorities, and the discipline, government, and administration of the force when embodied have been considered as military questions.

“ I have stated above the principal aims of the ordinance under four heads ; the first three I consider civil questions to be dealt with by the Civil Government in taking careful account of local considerations, including the prejudices which may arise from local circumstances hardly identical in any two of Her Majesty's colonies or groups of colonies. The fourth head includes matters of a military character, to be dealt with by the Governor as the representative of the military authorities. In

dealing with these matters almost absolute power is conferred on the Governor by section 132.

“I will now briefly indicate the sections of the ordinance which were considered of chief importance in carrying out the principal aims I have stated.

“Sections 149 and 152 were drafted to provide for the taking over of the old Volunteer Force as the nucleus of the new system. My despatch No. 333 of September 23rd showed the success of this part of the scheme.

“The taking over of the Volunteer Force having been provided for, the cardinal principle of the ordinance is contained in section 132, which gives the Governor complete control over the administration of the force, as regards both civil and military matters, *except where his power is limited by particular provisions enacted in the ordinance itself*. This is the essence of the ordinance, and a consideration of it from any other point of view must necessarily be inadequate.

“It was thought necessary to fix by enactment the limits of the burden of military service imposed on the colonists, the qualifications for service, the method by which the obligation is to be enforced, and the procedure to be observed in all cases in which it may be necessary to put in operation the compulsory clauses.

“These are purely civil questions and the success of the scheme must necessarily depend upon their being decided in a manner generally acceptable to the body of the colonists. No Government could, I think, leave these questions to the exercise of the general power conferred upon the Governor by section 132.

They are dealt with in part II. of the ordinance, and with reference to it, I would particularly call attention to the fact that, while the procedure to put in operation the compulsory clauses, from the first step to the last, that is from the call for volunteers to fill up deficiencies to the compulsory ballot, is laid down in detail, a wide discretion is left to the Governor to make orders with regard to the embodiment and organisation of the active force, so long as the force or any company of it is maintained under the voluntary system.

“The objection has been made that the ordinance is defective inasmuch as it does not provide for many things connected with the organisation and administration of the force. My reply is that the strength of the ordinance lies in the fact that it places the administration of the force absolutely in the power of the Governor except when that power is limited by express enactment. I confess that it was a matter of congratulation to myself to be able to carry a measure giving the Governor large powers in many matters affecting the civil domain of the ordinance, and almost absolute power in military matters.

“I venture to express a hope that, before any amendments of the ordinance are decided on, full consideration may be given to the question whether it is desirable by further express enactment to limit the powers secured to the Governor and through him to Her Majesty’s Government by the terms of the ordinance.

“I have, etc.”

The reply to my despatch was not received until the whole scheme had been fully considered by the War Office ; and I had ceased to administer the government of the colony.

LORD KNUTSFORD *to* GOVERNOR LORD
GORMANSTON.

Downing Street,
5th January, 1892.

“ MY LORD,

“ As you are aware I referred to the Colonial Defence Committee the Ordinance No. 19 of 1891 of the Legislature of British Guiana, entitled, ‘ An Ordinance to provide for the establishment and regulation of a Volunteer Force ; ’ and I now have the honour to transmit to you two copies of the memorandum, which the Committee have prepared upon it.

“ I concur in the appreciation which the Committee express of the ability of the scheme and the patriotism of the Colonial Legislature, and I further have pleasure in commending the zeal and energy which Sir Charles Bruce exhibited in dealing with this measure, and with the Police and Rural Constabulary Ordinances ; though I am not convinced of the sufficiency of the reasons which induced him to bring the Militia Ordinance into operation, as explained in his despatch No. 354 of the 6th of October.

“ While Her Majesty will not be advised to exercise her power of disallowance with respect to this Ordinance, I agree with the Committee that it requires amendment as proposed in their

memorandum, and I shall be glad if you will at an early date, bring the matter before the Court of Policy.

"In the meantime, I propose to proceed with the selection of an Adjutant and Bandmaster to the Force.

"I have, etc.,

KNUTSFORD."

In the interval the massed forces under Colonel M'Innis had been officially inspected on December 23rd, 1891, by Lieut.-General Newdigate, C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bermuda, who expressed his high appreciation of the steadiness of the force under arms and the smartness and efficiency of all ranks on parade. In later years, the force was inspected by Admiral Sir John Fisher, when Commander-in-Chief on the Station, and by other distinguished naval and military commanders, who expressed their complete satisfaction. In 1897, on the occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, a detachment of the force took part in the celebrations in London, and Colonel M'Innis was personally complimented by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught on their fine appearance.

The organisation of the force has since been modified to adapt it to changes in the scheme of defence, which it lies outside of my competence to deal with. It has been my desire to do justice to Colonel Richard Stapleton Cotton, who was mainly responsible for bringing many academic propositions into form in a definite scheme for the organisation

of the Police and Rural Constabulary as a semi-military force; to Major W. S. Turner, who was my chief adviser in organising a local military force in substitution of the existing Militia and Volunteer systems; and to Colonel E. B. M'Innis, who, when placed in command of the whole territorial force, brought it to the state of efficiency to which such honourable testimony has been borne.

WINDWARD ISLANDS

In 1893 I was appointed Governor of the Windward Islands, passing from a colony which it had been my duty to provide with a territorial force in substitution of an imperial garrison, to a group of colonies including the island of St. Lucia. The Colonial Defence Committee's scheme, of which I have given an outline, contemplated the concentration of troops in St. Lucia and Jamaica, and it was decided to make St. Lucia a naval base and fortified coaling station of the first importance.

In 1887 St. Lucia was visited by Mr. Anthony Froude, who, in his picturesque style, described the ruins of the old fortress on the Morne Fortuné, associated with the naval and military achievements of centuries. He expressed the hope that the fallen fortunes of the island might revive when the proposed scheme for making it a fortified coaling station was carried out. He added, "Many thousands of pounds will have to be spent there before the troops can return; but that is our way with the colonies—to change our minds every ten years, to do and undo, and do again, according to our parliamentary humours, while John Bull pays the bill patiently for

his own irresolution." Not only thousands but millions of pounds were spent, and within ten years the scheme had been carried to practical completion. Ten years later, in 1907, St. Lucia was visited by Sir Frederick Treves, who, in his work *The Cradle of the Deep*, described the fulfilment of Mr. Froude's anticipation.

"The Morne is now very largely occupied by immense barracks and storehouses of quite recent construction. They belong to that class of 'Government building' in which the struggle to attain to primeval plainness and a surpassing monotony has been crowned with success. Defiant in their unblushing ugliness they remain as a monument of the time when the British Government determined to establish a naval and military station at St. Lucia. The huge brick structures which crowd both the Morne and La Vigie were promptly put in hand and were erected at a cost stated to be not less than two million pounds sterling. The precious buildings have never been occupied, nor indeed were they ever quite completed, for the Government, having expended the sum above named, changed its mind, and decided, in its wisdom, that St. Lucia was not to be a military station at all. So the mighty pieces of ordnance sent out to further adorn the hill were at infinite cost and labour carried back again. The proceeding seems to have been inspired by an attempt to imitate that Duke of York who is credited in song with having marched a body of men to the top of a hill for the simple pleasure of seeing them march down again."

The period of my tenure of office as Governor of

the Windward Islands was the period of maximum activity in carrying out the scheme of defence in which St. Lucia was to be made one of the great bases of British naval and mercantile supremacy. I am not concerned with the strategic reasons that led the Committee of Defence to recommend that St. Lucia should be made a great naval base nor with the plans of fortification and armament carried out by the Admiralty and the War Office. I am concerned with the establishment of a great naval base and coaling station at St. Lucia, first in its consequences on the defence of the other colonies, and secondly, in its consequences on the population and civil government of St. Lucia.

In respect of the general defence of the Windward Islands, there is very little to be said. Their collective area is so small and they are so easily accessible that all that was necessary for the governments of Grenada and St. Vincent was the organisation of their police, to preserve internal order and at the same time to bear the burden of defence during the period which must elapse before a requisition to St. Lucia for aid could be complied with. The police of both governments were in the capable hands of officers, selected with a special view to the requirements of the scheme of defence, and need not further be referred to. But in St. Lucia the scheme of defence profoundly modified the constituent elements of the population and necessarily the policy of the civil government. As a great naval and military base, it attracted a considerable civil community concerned in supplying the manifold needs of a large garrison ; while, as the

most important coaling and victualling station on the great ocean highway between South America and North America, it attracted a still more considerable community connected with shipping interests. The history of the last half-century has supplied two great object lessons of the extent to which the fortunes of an island may be dependent on its shipping interests. When Mauritius ceased to be associated with the romance of great naval achievements in the Indian Ocean, as St. Lucia had been in the Caribbean Sea, it still continued to be an important base of maritime transactions and its prosperity, during the brightest days of its history under British administration, was largely due to its unrivalled position as a coaling, victualling, and repairing station on a great ocean trade-route exposed to the turbulent influences of cyclones. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 dealt a serious blow to all the local interests connected with shipping, and, as these were chiefly British, permanently displaced the English community. The consequences materially modified the policy of the administration, which wisely determined to find new resources for the maintenance of a civilised government in the development of the internal resources of the colony. In St. Helena the opening of the Suez Canal had still more serious consequences. Hardly less intimately associated with the maritime supremacy of the British Empire in the Atlantic than St. Lucia in the Caribbean Sea or Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, the island, abandoned by the shipping interests which had been the source of its prosperity, endeavoured in vain to find a substitute in

its internal resources. With the final removal of the garrison in 1907, St. Helena, which had played as important a part in the history of the Empire as any spot of its size, was reduced to the experiment of finding the revenues of civil government in the sale of postage stamps and a livelihood for its population in the proceeds of eleemosynary bazaars for the sale of needlework.

I am illustrating, and I know no more effective way of illustrating all that the establishment of a great military and naval base and a fortified coaling station means to the civil community and the civil government than by showing the results of circumstances that have terminated the maintenance of such stations. The policy of my government was necessarily controlled by the exigencies of a great maritime station and the subsidiary interests dependent on it. To enable the station to compete against the rival enterprise of foreign nations, liberal expenditure was necessary, to provide wharf accommodation and afford facilities for rapid coaling and victualling. The time within which a ship could be laid alongside, discharged, coal, and leave the wharf was measured by hours and minutes. At the same time, in order to extend the benefits of the harbour as a market to every district of the island, means of communication had to be provided by road and coast.

Of course, so far as concerned the defence of the Windward Islands during the period I am speaking of, their security was complete. I might be content to leave it at that. But within a few years the Committee of Defence adopted a new

scheme with the results described by Sir Frederick Treves. The complete reversal of policy may best be recorded in the words of Mr. Balfour in Parliament, in Committee of Supply :

“ It seems to us, with the changes in naval warfare, with the changes in the seat of sea-power of other nations, a redistribution of both our Fleet and our Army was desirable : and we have gone upon the broad line that, as the British Fleet and as the British Army should be available for the defence of the British Empire in all parts of the world our force should be as far as possible concentrated at the centre of the Empire, from which it could be distributed as each necessity arose to that part of the Empire which stood most in need of it. I have to acknowledge that this has rendered unnecessary expenditure which has been undertaken under a different view of our military needs. I mention that because it is a subject which has occupied the attention of the member for the Forest of Dean. The most notable case is the case of St. Lucia. The general problem was considered by a Commission, of which Lord Carnarvon was the head, and it was in deference to Lord Carnarvon’s recommendation that St. Lucia was made a great naval base. One of the reasons for making it a great naval base was that it was not further than eighty miles from the French naval station in those seas. What was a reason for having such a base at St. Lucia in Lord Carnarvon’s time is a reason for not having it there at the present time. We have to take into account the theory of torpedo-boats. It is a distinct disadvantage for any harbour

required as a place of repair, refitting and refreshment that it should be within easy reach of a hostile or potentially hostile power. There is more in the abandonment of St. Lucia than that. The Defence Committee, who have considered the matter, with the advice of the Admiralty and War Office, do not think St. Lucia is likely to be the scene of any great naval operations. It is not a place which we think could be with advantage used, or is likely to be required to be used, for our purposes; and with the modern battleship there are strong reasons for thinking that in so far as we required any place of coaling and refitment in these seas, both Jamaica and Trinidad would be better. The harbour at St. Lucia, though sheltered, is not very convenient, and does not hold a large fleet. These are the reasons why St. Lucia ceases to be regarded as a great naval station."

I do not venture to criticise the reasons that led to a complete reversal of imperial policy within twenty years. I assume that the new policy is in the interest of the Empire. I desire only to give some idea of what such a reversal of policy means, in respect of the general question of the defence of the Windward Islands, and in its consequences on the fortunes of the civil population and government of St. Lucia. But the subject is of much wider interest than the limits of the West Indies. Similar reversals of policy in the Indian Ocean have affected the fortunes of Mauritius, and may await any colony selected as a naval and military base.

The serious consequences of such changes of policy in the United Kingdom were illustrated in a report from the Committee of Public Accounts in 1907 (H.C. 252).

(1) "At East Bulford there has been a loss to the public of between £140,000 and £150,000 in erecting a Mounted Infantry School, which was closed on 1st July, 1906.

(2) "At Tidworth nearly a million pounds has been expended in building barracks for eight infantry battalions, though only four are needed.

(3) "Near Fermoy, a sum of £35,000 was expended in 1905-06 for the purchase of Moore Park (843 acres, with mansion and grounds) as a site for barracks and for training mounted infantry. The idea of a Mounted Infantry School in Ireland has now been dropped; and, in the words of the representative of the War Office, 'a change of policy resulted in money being expended without the advantage which was anticipated accruing.'

(4) "At Stobs, 'the original idea was that it was going to be a great training ground for troops, but it has been given up,' the War Office having 'only spent £56,000 out of the £725,000 which had been intended . . . at a time when it was anticipated to have six Army Corps.'"

Some idea of the influence of changes of naval and military policy on the fortunes of the Crown colonies may be found from what has happened in St. Lucia. Similar changes have more than once had a similar influence on the fortunes of Mauritius.

MAURITIUS

When our present King (then Duke of Cornwall and York) visited Mauritius in the year 1901, he referred to the just pride of the colony in its great traditions, and "in its association with naval achievements that shed equal glory on England and France." Mauritius for over two centuries, from September 18th, 1598, to December 10th, 1810, was the centre of a struggle between the nations of Europe for the key of the Indian Ocean. In 1746 the French Governor, Mahé de la Bourdonnais, had made it a station from which foreign trade could be crippled, as well as a strategic base for the operations of France in India, and in that year he used it as the base of an operation seldom, if ever, paralleled in colonial history. "Without ships," says Colonel Malleon, "without sailors, without an army, the Indian Ocean covered by hostile cruisers, with no resources but those he had made in the colony, he was asked to embark an army, to traverse the Indian Ocean, to avoid or encounter the trained fleet of the enemy, and to relieve the beleaguered capital of French India."

Rapidly growing in importance as a base of naval and commercial operations, the island became in 1789 the seat of government of all the French establishments east of the Cape. During a period of the French Revolution the story of the defence of the island belongs, as the historian Pridham has well said "rather to the age of romance were romance

not set aside by reality. Seldom perhaps has history furnished an example on a parallel with this instance, an instance in which a single and inconsiderable island, denuded of nearly the whole of its military force, by the natural strength of its position and the bravery and patriotism of its inhabitants, singly and for a long time resisted the hostilities of the mightiest of nations."

In 1802, by a decree of Bonaparte as First Consul of the French Republic, the constitutional status of Mauritius was changed and it became a unit in a vast military system organised to establish, under the dictatorship of Napoleon, a universal empire of which Europe was to be the head, America and Asia the arms, Africa the shoulders and trunk, the Atlantic and Indian Oceans the legs and feet. It was the importance of the unit in this imperial enterprise that determined its destiny, an importance recognised by every nation engaged in the struggle for the wealth of Asia. In England statesmen, generals, and admirals, in India governors and councils, had been unanimous in declaring that the possession of the Isle of France was essential to our commerce, to our reputation and national character, and to the maintenance of our province of India. It fell to Lord Minto, Governor-General of India, great-grandfather of the present Viceroy, to determine the question of possession by the *ultima ratio* of a force the most powerful in strength and equipment that had ever been afloat in the Indian Ocean.

An account of the operations of war which at the close of 1810 transferred Mauritius to British rule is beyond the scope of my work. Among the most

famous of these achievements was the action of the Ile de la Passe on August 23rd, 1810. The French under Commodore Duperré were victorious, but a naval historian has declared that the noble behaviour of Captain Willoughby and the officers and crew of the *Néréide* "threw such a halo of glory round the defeat that the loss of four frigates was considered scarcely a misfortune." An obelisk has been erected in honour of all who fell on that memorable day; and the Ile de la Passe occupies in the annals of Mauritius much the same place as the Plains of Abraham occupy in the annals of Canada.

Colonel Malleon has eloquently summed up the record of French occupation: "Thus did the French lose, after an occupation of nearly a hundred years, the beautiful island upon which had been bestowed the name of their own bright land, and which in climate, in refinement of luxury, in the love of adventure of its children, had been, in very deed, the France of the East. In the long struggle with England which had followed the Revolution, the Isle of France had inflicted upon the English trade a 'damage which might be computed by millions,' whilst she herself had remained uninjured,—for eighteen years indeed—unthreatened. She had proved herself to be that which the Emperor had declared that Cherbourg should become, 'an eye to see and an arm to strike.' Protected for long, partly by the storms of the ocean, partly by the daring spirit of her children, partly by the timid counsels of the British Government, she had been, for the privateers who preyed upon the commercial

marine of the East India Company, at once a harbour of refuge and a secure base of operation. She had been the terror of British merchants, the spectre which haunted the counting-house, the one black spot in the clear blue of the Indian Ocean. The relief which was felt by the merchants of Calcutta was expressed in an address presented by them to Lord Minto, in which they offered their 'sincere congratulations on the capture of the only remaining French colony in the East, which has for so many years past been the source of devastation to the commerce of India, to a magnitude almost exceeding belief.'"

Although Mauritius, under British rule, has ceased to be associated with the romance of great naval achievements, the policy of government has of necessity continued to exercise itself in two areas of activity; the administration of a base of maritime operations, and the development of the resources of a tropical territory. In the term "maritime operations," I include the functions of the Royal Navy and the Merchant Service. The importance of Mauritius as a unit in any system of imperial defence constituted on the principle that the maintenance of peace depends on an adequate preparation for war, has never failed to be recognised. And the colony, dependent for its existence on its sea-borne commerce, has even in the darkest days of its fortunes cheerfully borne its share of the burden of defence at home and protection in transit, as a premium of insurance. This practical wisdom, associated with the sentiment of old traditions, has always secured for the British Navy as cordial and enthusiastic a

welcome as it receives in any seaport or city of the United Kingdom. Nor has the period of British dominion been without services rendered to the Empire in war-time of which the colony is proud : by the prompt despatch of troops to India in 1857 during the Mutiny, to South Africa in 1879 during the Zulu War, and to South Africa again in 1900 at a critical stage of the last war.

In the year 1857 Lord Elgin, then on his way to China in charge of a mission, was met by the news of the Indian Mutiny, and on June 5th he addressed a note to Lady Elgin from Singapore in which he says : " I sent my last letter immediately after landing, and had little time to add a word from land, as I found a press of business and a necessity for writing to Clarendon by the mail ; the fact being that I received letters from Canning, imploring me to send troops to him from the number destined for China. As we have no troops yet, and do not know when we may have any, it was not exactly an easy matter to comply with this request. However, I did what I could, and in concert with the General, have sent instructions far and wide to turn the transports back, and give Canning the benefit of the troops for the moment." The importance of Lord Elgin's action was appreciated, as it merited, by the Queen, the Government of India, and the British nation. It was supplemented by the action of Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, who on June 30th despatched Captain Griffith Jenkins, C.B., I.N., in the Peninsular and Oriental steamer *Pottinger*, especially chartered for the voyage, to Mauritius and the

Cape, with full powers to solicit aid from the Governors of those colonies in men, horses, and money. Sir James Higginson, the Governor of Mauritius, had not heard of the Mutiny, but within sixteen hours of his arrival at Port Louis Captain Jenkins succeeded in actually embarking on board the *Pottinger* and *Canning* the 33rd Regiment and half a battery of artillery, with guns and stores, for Bombay.

Sir James Higginson's action was not without a cause of grave anxiety as to the internal security of the colony, with its considerable Indian population, while thus denuded of a portion of its large garrison. An extract from a minute of Sir James Higginson, dated July 27th, shows his view of the position: "I am informed that some alarm has been excited, and that by many persons apprehensions are entertained, lest our Indian labourers may be disposed to enter into unlawful combinations, in order to take advantage of the reduction in our garrison, consequent on the recent despatch of troops to Bombay, and may become inoculated with the mutinous spirit which has broken out in the Native Army of Bengal. But I confess I am at a loss to discover on what grounds the apprehension rests, or what object the Indians here could promise to themselves from following the example in question.

.

"Looking to the experience of the past, are employers warranted in encouraging such imaginary fears? Have the coolies, by conduct or demeanour, ever exhibited symptoms to induce such a belief?

No. On the contrary, they have been throughout remarkable for submission to the authority of their masters and for unhesitating obedience to that of the civil power, whenever it has been necessary to exercise it. Moreover, the labourers' prospects were never so good as at the present moment, nor were planters ever in a better position to pay their wages with regularity and precision. Upon estates where this condition of engagements is strictly conformed to, and where masters take care to satisfy themselves that Indians are properly treated by their employers, they will hold the surest guarantee against disaffection or disorder, and the best security against any interruption of the very satisfactory relations that now generally subsist between planters and labourers.

“At the same time, it is the duty of all who are charged with the maintenance of the public peace and the protection of life and property, to omit no precautions calculated to conduce to the furtherance of these important ends; taking special care to avoid any measure indicative of suspicion or distrust of the loyalty and pacific disposition of the Indian population, but exercising such vigilance as will enable them to detect and immediately report to Government any attempt at combination on their part, or any other proceedings of an unusual or questionable character.”

Sir James Higginson left the colony a few weeks later, and it is interesting to recall the offer of assistance made to his successor, Major-General C. M. Hay, by M. Delisle, French Governor of Réunion :

“ Isle de la Réunion,
Septembre 14, 1857,
Cabinet du Gouverneur.

“ MONSIEUR LE GOUVERNEUR,

.

“You have more than 132,000 Indians in the island which you govern; these men, constantly in communication with Mussulmen of the revolted countries, have received letters inviting them, it is reported, to rise. It is to be feared that insurrectionary movements will disturb the sister island.

“I know well that with your energy and the courage of the inhabitants you will promptly subdue these rebels, but serious troubles might result. In anticipation of this possible crime and the consequence of the large reduction of the English forces at the island of Mauritius, I am about to make a communication in all sincerity and feeling.

“The Government of the Emperor has sent me a garrison, to replace the one which is to return to France after its term of colonial service is completed. This places at the present moment rather a large number of troops at my disposal.

“I am about to propose to you that, should you perceive any symptom of revolt—if the Indian population of your island should be considered or should become excited by their co-religionists of the peninsula, and should raise the standard, I would propose to you, I say, to place under your command a part of the garrison of Réunion. You have only to make a signal and the French troops shall be under your orders.

“As regards myself, I entertain no apprehension for Réunion, for I have not a third part of the coolies that are in the island of Mauritius.

H. HUBERT DELISLE,
Governor.”

Major-General Hay's reply was worthy of the occasion.

“SIR,

“I beg to assure you that I feel the deepest gratitude for the noble offer of assistance you have made me should the disastrous rebellion of the natives in India extend to the coolies in this island, and should I find myself placed in such a position as to require aid, I shall not hesitate to apply to you in the same frank and fraternal spirit which has dictated your generous offer.

“You will be pleased to hear that I have carefully watched the current of events and feelings here, and that I entertain no apprehension of a rising. I have, however, taken every precaution, and am prepared for whatever may occur.

“This colony is in a most prosperous condition, and I have perfect confidence in the loyalty and gallant spirit of the inhabitants.

“Yours, etc.,

C. M. HAY.”

In 1879, during the Zulu War, a detachment of troops was sent from Mauritius to South Africa

by the Acting Governor, Sir F. Napier Broome, not without some apprehension of possible internal difficulties on the part of the officer commanding the troops and others.

In 1899 the services of every white soldier in the garrison were placed at the service of the War Office without any apprehension at all. I avail myself of the opportunity to place on record a brief narrative of the circumstances of this incident which have never hitherto been published. They are sufficiently shown in the following correspondence, commencing with a semi-official letter which I addressed to the Under Secretary of State for the reason given.

Government House,
Mauritius, October 9, 1899.

“MY DEAR WINGFIELD,

“There is a chance Steamer the *Ville de Metz* going direct to France to-day and she may possibly anticipate the small mail I sent you by the *Powerful* on the 5th inst. I therefore write this to let you know about the *Powerful's* arrival, and despatch with the K.O. Yorkshire Light Infantry.

“The *Powerful* arrived on the 3rd instant. Except by vague information that she might call to coal here I had no knowledge of her movements. Captain Lambton's intention was to stay three or four days to coal and he came at once to spend the time with me at Réduit. The next afternoon I drove him to the camp of the Central Africa Rifles, and I may mention incidentally that he was struck by the smartness of the guard as they turned out.

"On our return to Réduit, about 5.30 p.m., Captain Lambton received a telegram from Admiral Harris instructing him to proceed with all despatch to Durban and to be prepared to land a guard. In view of this telegram and of the public telegrams we were receiving, it occurred to me at once that the guard to be landed might with advantage be reinforced by our half-battalion of the Yorkshires, all the more that they had highly distinguished themselves in a tight corner at the close of the Tirah campaign, and had had time to recruit during our cool season here.

"I therefore gave instructions to keep open the cable to London, the local office closing at 6 p.m. I then wired to General Talbot Coke who shortly arrived and, after talking the matter over with him and Captain Lambton, I decided to send you the telegram you received offering the services of the Yorkshires. At the same time the General sent a message by my orderly to Curepipe to give notice to Colonel Barter, who received it between 9 and 10 p.m. He replied that he would be ready to embark early on Friday morning (the 6th inst.).

"During the next day, October 5th, we were anxiously waiting your reply which arrived at Réduit about 8.45, and I transmitted it at once to the General, Captain Lambton, and Colonel Barter. The next morning, October 6th, the battalion embarked between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m.

"I went on board the *Powerful* at noon and stayed till 2.30 p.m. ; at 2.45 she sailed.

"Colonel Barter and the officers and men

received their orders with the utmost enthusiasm, which they expressed to me by telegram and by repeated cheers as I left the *Powerful*. It was certainly very much to their credit and to the credit of the arrangements made by the General that the men were embarked within about forty hours of the first intimation given to Colonel Barter.

“ Believe me, dear Wingfield,

Yours, etc.”

By the following mail I wrote to Mr. Chamberlain ;

Government House,
Mauritius, 14th October, 1899.

“ SIR,

“ In continuation of my despatch No. 384 of the 5th instant on the subject of the transport of the 2nd Battalion King’s Own Yorkshire Light Infantry to the Cape, I have the honour to inform you that H.M.S. *Powerful*, with 450 officers and men of the battalion left Port Louis at 2.45 p.m. on the 6th instant.

“ By a telegram dated Point Natal, October 10th, 2 p.m., Captain Lambton informed me that he was proceeding with the battalion to Cape Town, so that the troops reached Natal well within five days of my receipt of your acceptance of the offer of their services.

“ I have, etc.”

The terms of Mr. Chamberlain’s reply were, as usual, generous ;

Downing Street,
21 November, 1899.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 384 of the 5th October last, and No. 411 of the 14th October relative to the offer of the half battalion of the K.O. Yorkshire Light Infantry for service in South Africa.

"I take this opportunity of expressing to you on behalf of H.M. Government their cordial appreciation of your prompt action in this matter and of the prompt and soldierly manner in which the officers and all concerned were ready on so short notice to sail for South Africa.

"I have, etc."

At a later period I made, through the Secretary of State, a further offer of assistance. This offer might perhaps have been accepted with advantage.

Government House,
Mauritius, 8th November, 1899.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you that on the 31st ultimo I sent you a telegram in the following terms:—

'*Raglan Castle* sails for South Africa probably about in a week General Officer commanding and I propose to send six 9 pr. R.L.M. guns of 6 cwt. and four maxim guns with 100 garrison artillery

possibly fifty draught mules might be bought here telegraph reply.'

"The *Raglan Castle* has offered the only opportunity of sending troops to South Africa since the departure of the *Powerful*, and the offer seemed all the more advisable inasmuch as Major General Talbot Coke received a telegram on October 26th from the General Officer Commanding in South Africa informing him that in consequence of casualties Lieutenant Mackenzie, R.A., who was under orders for Mauritius, had been detained at Natal.

"The order to detain Mr. Mackenzie at Natal was however received there too late and he arrived in Mauritius by the *Raglan Castle*.

"I have however this morning received a telegram from General Sir Redvers Buller in the following terms :—

'Thanks for offer of six 9 pr. R.L.M. guns of 6 cwt. maxims and garrison artillery, do not send them as their services not required.'

"In view of the meagre and conflicting telegraphic information we receive from South Africa we are much relieved to find that the small reinforcement we were able to offer is not required.

"I have, etc."

The despatch of the Yorkshire Light Infantry by the *Powerful* on October 6th and my subsequent offer of a detachment of artillery and guns were followed by a resolution of the Council of Government adopted on November 14th, during the darkest days of the war :

"That whereas the forces of the Queen's Most

Excellent Majesty are now engaged in protecting British interests in South Africa ;

“ This Council desires to convey to Her Majesty the Queen, on behalf of all classes of the inhabitants of Mauritius, the assurance of their unalterable loyalty and attachment to Her Majesty’s person and Imperial Throne.

“ And that whereas many casualties have occurred among the troops engaged in the Colony of Natal, this Council hereby sanctions the expenditure of a sum of £2,000 to be offered for the acceptance of the Government of Natal, and to be placed at their disposal for the benefit of the wounded and sick of the Imperial and Colonial forces engaged against the forces of the South African Republics.”

At a still later period, on March 1st, 1900, I made a further offer by telegram.

“ If approved the two practice 5 in. B.L. guns 40 cwt. on travelling carriages designed at trifling cost out of equipment of 9 pr. R.M.L. guns of 8 cwt. will be sent by next opportunity to South Africa accompanied by three officers sixty men Garrison Artillery W. Division no ammunition here.”

In reply I received a copy of the following letter addressed by the War Office to the Colonial Office.

War Office,
London, S.W., 10th March, 1900.

“ SIR,

“ I am directed by the Secretary of State for War to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 2nd instant, 6791/1900 forwarding a copy of a telegram from the Governor of Mauritius offering the services of a

detachment of the Garrison Artillery for service in South Africa, together with two guns.

“ This offer has been considered, but Lord Lansdowne does not at present propose to avail himself thereof. He would be glad if Mr. Secretary Chamberlain, in replying to the Governor of Mauritius, would add an expression of the thanks of Her Majesty’s Government, and inform him that the offer will be borne in mind should the necessity arise later.

“ I am, etc.,

G. FLEETWOOD WILSON.”

The Under Secretary of State,
Colonial Office,
S.W.

The readiness with which successive Governors sent troops from Mauritius in grave imperial emergencies must not lead to the conclusion that Mauritius could have been permanently left to the protection of a territorial force such as was substituted for an Imperial garrison in British Guiana. When Sir John Pope Hennessy was Governor, his Irish Home Rule sympathies made it a part of his policy to secure the removal of an English garrison and organise a local military force in substitution. A Committee was accordingly appointed and a scheme prepared in draft and submitted to the Secretary of State. Naturally, the success of the scheme depended on it being available in the possible event of invasion by any Power. At a meeting of the Committee, the representatives of the two groups

of communities whose influence is paramount, the communities of pure and mixed French descent, declared that they wished it to be distinctly understood that the force could not be relied on to oppose invasion by the French. This declaration led to a very serious controversy between the Governor and the naval and military authorities. In the course of it I was much impressed by the really genuine loyalty with which the gentlemen I have referred to adhered to their declaration, fatal as it was bound to be to the Governor's scheme. I interpreted it as a declaration that both sections desired to see the defence of the colony secured by a scheme which could in no possible contingency be imperilled by dangers that might arise out of racial partialities and prejudices in a territorial force. The circumstances of the controversy in Committee, together with other reasons to which reference has already been made, decided me to leave the colony and place myself in the hands of the Secretary of State. The naval and military authorities supplied me with a copy of their report to the War Office on the subject.

My varied experience of the Crown colonies has led me to the confident conclusion that they are prepared to bear their share of the burden of Imperial defence. What has long been a cause of complaint, and at times of exasperation, has been the method of adjustment of the burden.

Hitherto the Crown colonies have never been asked to contribute towards the expense of the navy, and it must be admitted that the question of adjusting the military contribution has often given rise to angry

controversy, but I cannot help thinking that this has been owing to the absence of any rational or uniform basis in the demands for colonial contributions.

In a note to a return published by the Colonial Office in 1829 it is stated that "it has never been a principle of British rule to require that the Colonies should provide for their military defence," although the return showed that the colonies did practically contribute £335,000 apparently in personal allowances called colonial allowances. In 1859 a Departmental Committee reported that the colonies might be said generally to have been free from almost all obligations of contributing, either by personal service or money, towards their own defence; that the incidence of the small sums contributed was most unequal and chiefly borne by three colonies; and they particularly condemned the system of colonial allowances as most mischievous to our troops. This report was followed by the appointment in 1861 of a Select Committee, of which Mr. Mills was chairman, to inquire into the defence of the colonies and the distribution of the cost between the Imperial Treasury and the colonial funds. It was found that the distribution of troops and the allocation of charges were based on no principle, and had grown up by chance modified by temporary exigencies. The general result of the report of the Committee was the decision of the Government that all colonies must bear the burden of their military establishments. It must be remembered that during the 'Sixties the idea of separation had grown to be a fixed purpose, and this decision was immediately followed

by the gradual withdrawal of all the Imperial troops from the self-governing colonies, a process practically completed in 1870. In the Crown colonies, where it was found impossible to withdraw the Imperial troops, the military contribution was fixed on the basis of a capitation rate for each man on the strength, varying according to the branch of the service to which he belonged, and varying also in the different colonies. This system was a constant cause of irritation. The colonies declared their readiness to contribute in so far as the strength of the garrison was fixed to meet local requirements, but resisted the demand for a contribution towards the cost of a garrison, of which the strength was adjusted to external imperial exigencies. The objection of the colonists was urged with all the more force since the incidence of this burden continued to be unequal, and borne entirely by a very few colonies. It is of course difficult to draw a line between local and Imperial requirements, and it would have been impossible to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment on any such principle. Fortunately, the capitation rate has been abandoned in favour of a more rational system.

The Army Estimates for 1909-10 showed the following contributions by Crown colonies to Army Funds :

Straits Settlements	-	-	-	-	£205,000
Ceylon -	-	-	-	-	87,500
Hong Kong -	-	-	-	-	100,000
Mauritius	-	-	-	-	22,000
Malta -	-	-	-	-	5,000

These contributions are no longer based on a capitation rate. The contribution of Malta is a lump sum fixed at a time when it would have been obviously impossible for the colony to pay a capitation rate on the total strength of the garrison. The contributions of the other colonies represent a percentage of the gross public revenue, less certain deductions, as for railway charges and water-works, so long as the revenue from these sources does not exceed the expenditure for maintenance and loan redemption. In the case of the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong the contribution represents 20 per cent. ; in Ceylon $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ; in Mauritius $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The apparent discrepancy in the rate is justified by the difference in the scope of the charges which the public revenue has to cover. For instance, in Mauritius, the public revenue has to bear the entire burden of education, sanitation, hospitals, the harbour department, police, public roads, and a variety of charges which in England are defrayed by local rates, private enterprise, and private benefactors. The public revenue liable to the contribution has also to cover charges for immigration, and on account of the public debt. In Ceylon a system of local administration by native agencies relieves the general revenue from many charges which it has to bear in Mauritius and other Crown colonies. I am not prepared to say that a percentage of the public revenue is the best possible mode of fixing colonial contributions to defence funds ; but it has this eminent advantage, especially in colonies subject to vicissitudes and fluctuations of fortune, that the burden adapts

itself automatically to the power of the colony to bear it.

On the other hand, the adjustment of the rate of percentage involves considerations of complexity for the reasons I have indicated and others. For example, of the colonies now paying a military contribution on the new system, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong have been enormously enriched by the opening of the Suez Canal, which has deprived Mauritius of a principal source of her former wealth, and has beggared St. Helena, which previously contributed to army funds. Possibly a contribution calculated on the value of imports and exports might, in the case of colonies dependent on the export of their agricultural produce and its returns, be a more convenient basis of adjustment. But in any case, I venture to suggest that in future the contributions to army funds be abolished; that there be substituted a contribution to the Imperial Treasury for defence funds, and that all the Crown colonies be invited to contribute to the funds, according to the measure of their power, on such a basis as may be found most convenient.

Before quitting this subject, I ought to add that, in addition to their annual contribution, all the four colonies of the Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Hong Kong, and Mauritius, have provided a large capital sum in aid of fortifications and barracks constructed by the Imperial authorities.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CROWN

ALL problems of empire are subsidiary to the problem of securing and maintaining the loyalty of the constituent parts of the Empire to the Crown. Some years ago Prince Bismarck declared that the only healthy basis of a great State is national selfishness. The policy of the British Empire professes to rest on the belief that the only healthy basis of a great Nation is unselfishness, and that what is true of a great Nation is true of a great Empire. It is a policy which stands in contrast to the policy of all Empires in the past. It will be known to all time as the policy of the Victorian era.

In dealing with the subsidiary problems of administration in the Crown colonies during a long official career, I have endeavoured to keep constantly in view the ultimate problem of reconciling the diverse interests of race, colour, and creed in one common sentiment of loyalty to the Crown, based on a conviction that the policy of the Crown is what it professes to be,—a policy of unselfishness. Queen Victoria's Proclamation to the Princes and Peoples of India in 1858 declared that Her Majesty

sought her strength in the prosperity of her people, her security in their contentment, her reward in their gratitude. Fifty years later, His Majesty King Edward the Seventh in a gracious message declared that he looked back on the period of operation of the policy declared in the Proclamation of 1858 with clear gaze and a good conscience.

In the meantime, it has been the duty of the Governors and Administrators of the Crown colonies to carry out the same policy in the same spirit, and I believe that if King George is pleased to survey that group of his over-sea dominions he will look back on it with equally clear gaze and good conscience.

It was my good fortune, I believe my unique privilege, to hold the office of Administrator or Governor in Crown colonies at three seasons of imperial interest: the Jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria in 1887; the Diamond Jubilee in 1897; and the Coronation of King Edward the Seventh.

I have, in a chapter on Expansion in British Guiana, given some account of the demonstrations of loyalty in that colony at the time of the Jubilee celebrations in 1887. The Diamond Jubilee was celebrated in Mauritius with every form of demonstration that loyalty could suggest. There followed Her Majesty's demise, and the colony's recognition, with sober dignity, of the splendour of the legacy left to the Empire in her illustrious example and a name associated with an age of unparalleled progress in all that contributes to the welfare of communities, and the health, happiness, and liberty of individuals.

The demise of the Sovereign was followed, in 1901, by the visit to Mauritius of King George and Queen Mary, as Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. Within an hour of their landing they had transubstantiated into an Imperial ideal the material elements of colonial existence. The reply of His Royal Highness to the addresses presented by representatives of every section of the community animated all with an inspiring sense of Imperial services rendered and generously acknowledged. It was in these terms :

"I sincerely thank you and the Members of those Public Bodies which you represent for the kindly expressions of welcome and good wishes to the Duchess and myself which are contained in the Addresses which I have had the pleasure to receive.

"It will be a great satisfaction to me to convey to my dear Father the King, your assurances of loyalty to his Throne and Person, and to make known to him that spirit of affectionate devotion to the memory of our late beloved Queen so strongly evinced in these communications.

"I note with especial satisfaction from the Addresses of those non-European Communities who have made their home among you that they are living in contentment under the rule of their King Emperor in Mauritius.

"We have looked forward with keen interest to visiting your beautiful Island, rich in its honourable traditions, in the history of literature and statesmanship : proud of its association with naval achievements that shed equal glory on England and France.

"We deeply sympathise with you in that combination of adversities altogether beyond your control, under which you have suffered during the past ten years.

"Meanwhile the whole Empire has watched with sympathetic admiration the constancy and courage by which you overcame your difficulties and the spirit that prompted you to contribute generously—in spite of your own imperilled fortunes—to the relief of your suffering fellow-subjects in India, the West Indies, and in South Africa.

"I rejoice to know that a day of brighter promise has dawned upon you—that the great staple of the Island continues to enjoy its long established reputation, and that it is your earnest endeavour to keep pace with the rest of the Empire in maintaining its commercial and mercantile pre-eminence.

"I fervently trust that under Divine Providence the people of Mauritius may ever remain a united, loyal and prosperous community."

The words of sympathy found an echo in every heart when the following day brought news of the death of the Empress Frederick of Germany. And, if this sad event limited the opportunities for official ceremonies and popular manifestations of enthusiasm, every moment of their Royal Highnesses' stay strengthened a link in the chain of loyalty that grapples the little island to the Empire. Every hour gave proof of a kindly consideration for others, every day revealed an alert grasp of the bearing of a variety of interests on the general welfare of a complex community, and an impartial sympathy with what is best in each.

Their Royal Highnesses' visit was the more opportune by reason of the period of adversity through which the colony was passing. It served to unite every section of the population in the sentiment of a common patriotism, and to confirm the courage and constancy of which Their Royal Highnesses showed a generous appreciation. Deep in every man's mind in the Crown colonies there is a sentiment of devotion to the Crown, rooted in the faith that behind the things that are seen, heads of departments, judges and governors, there is an unseen power, the source of security of life, liberty of person, freedom of conscience, and absolute equality before the law for rich and poor of every race and creed. In Mauritius, as elsewhere, it was long known only by the name of Queen Victoria. The visit of Their Royal Highnesses was accepted as a message of assurance that it had passed to King Edward the Seventh, and the gracious sympathy with which the message was delivered will for ever associate it with the lives of King George and Queen Mary, and with the annual celebration of Empire Day, and with all that Empire Day means.

This memorable visit was followed by the coronation of King Edward in circumstances that touched the heart of the Empire. A French philosopher, Ernest Renan, has declared that the world is not governed by Reason, with a capital R, but by something in which every letter is a capital—EMOTION. History can furnish few examples of an Empire governed by emotion as the British Empire was governed during the period of the

King's illness that postponed the day of his coronation, and has again been governed during the period that has followed his demise.

A feature of especial interest during the coronation festivities was the unveiling of a statue of Queen Victoria. With my speech on that occasion I may appropriately close the record of my long career in the service of the Crown colonies :

“The erection of this statue of her late Majesty Queen Victoria has been associated with two events which will certainly be marked with white in the annals of the colony. Just a year ago the first stone of the pedestal on which the statue is placed was laid by Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, in the presence of Her Majesty's grandson, and I have now the honour of unveiling it at the very moment when the imperial succession is, by the solemn act and ceremony of the coronation, passing formally to Her Majesty's son. But not only has the erection of the statue been happy in point of time ; we shall all I think agree that the site has been happily chosen. Here at the gate of Government House, the seat of administration and place of assembly of the legislative body of the colony, it will be given to future generations to recognise an outward and visible sign and symbol of the principles that underlie the unwritten constitution of the Empire. For however diverse may be the forms of local government throughout the Empire, the principles on which they rest are the same ; in public life the principle of freedom of person, freedom of speech, freedom of religious belief and faith ; in the administration of justice

the principle of absolute equality before the law for all sorts and conditions of men ; in commerce, in the largest sense of this term, the policy of the open door ; and in private and social life the policy of the open heart and open hand—the heart open to sympathy alike in joy and sorrow ; the hand open to welcome, embrace, support and aid.”

APOLOGIA

IT will be gathered from the records which I have now brought to a close that my long official career has been of varied experience in dealing with problems of Crown colony administration. It has been often criticised, but the holder of responsible office who is never worth criticising is probably never worth anything at all. It has been a career of many mistakes, but the only men who make no mistakes are the men who do nothing.

On the other hand, it has been from first to last of exceptional amplitude of experience in the generosity with which it has been judged. It closed as every colonial Governor might well desire his tenure of office to close. At a time when the fortunes of the colony of Mauritius were in desperate peril my Sovereign was pleased to extend my term of office in gracious assent to a resolution unanimously voted by the Council of Government. And at the hour of my departure the people among whom I had long lived and laboured presented me with the following address signed by representatives of every section of the community without distinction of rank, origin, creed or colour.

Port Louis,
Mauritius, 30th October, 1903.

“ May it Please Your Excellency,

We, the undersigned, inhabitants of this Colony, and members of the different sections of its population, beg to assure you that we deeply regret to have to part from you. We have been so accustomed to see you moving among us, and you have been so long associated with our existence, that we are grieved to think that you are on the point of taking leave of us for ever.

“ It seems indeed as if your life was intended to be linked to our destinies ; for your career in the Colonial Service, which is now a pretty long one, was begun in Mauritius, and by far the greater part of it has been spent here. In the various posts you have occupied in this Island, you have rendered the most valuable services to us, but in none have these been more signal than in the high office from which you are about to retire.

“ The period, over which your administration extends, has been one of constant care and anxiety. Within the last six years we have had to contend with numerous and serious difficulties ; and if we have succeeded in weathering the storms we have encountered, if brighter days are now dawning upon us, it is, we gratefully acknowledge, thanks, chiefly, to the able and fearless pilot we have had at our head.

“ Of course, you have sometimes met with opposition, and, in that respect, you have not been more fortunate than any of your predecessors. This was

unavoidable. Under our Constitution, such as it is, the Governor is vested with large and extensive powers, and, unless he makes up his mind to remain unconcerned with the affairs of the Colony, and casts off all sense of responsibility, there are circumstances in which he must exercise these powers. The manner in which you have yourself, in some cases, used them, has, naturally enough, given rise to dissatisfaction in certain quarters, but we are convinced that the discontent thus created has only been transient, and that, whatever criticisms some of your acts may have called forth, the purity and sincerity of your intentions, your unflinching desire to do what in your judgment appeared best for the public good, your single-minded devotion to duty, have never been questioned.

“On assuming the Government of the Colony, one of your first public utterances was that you would devote yourself without partiality or prejudice to the interests of the people entrusted to your care, and, with no difference, to all classes of the population alike. The pledge you then gave, you have redeemed, and, of this, there could be no better proof than the tokens of sympathy, of regard, and of gratitude which you are receiving from all sides on the eve of your departure.

“Pray accept our best wishes for yourself and Lady Bruce. Though far away from us, you will both, we feel sure, continue to take an interest in the Colony where you have spent so many years. The ties which unite us to you, and which the sorrows we have shared with you have but more closely knitted, are too strong to be broken by our separation. As

for us, you may be certain that we shall retain a fond and undying recollection of you."

The colony was true to its word. On August 10th, 1907, I received a telegram signed by the senior member of the Council of Government in the following terms: "Elected Members of Council and people of Mauritius knowing your deep and sincere sympathy for the Colony beg you may be good enough to represent and defend them (at the) Colonial Office." The circumstances which prompted this telegram need not be discussed. I at once placed myself at the disposal of the Secretary of State, who was good enough to refer to me the official papers on the subject. Some months later, in March, 1908, I received another telegram, from the President of the Chamber of Agriculture, requesting me to render a new service to the colony in supporting a measure recommended by the Governor. I again placed myself at the disposal of Lord Elgin, who granted me a personal interview after the circumstances in which the appeal was made had been explained to me in the Office.

The position in which I was placed on both occasions was of extreme delicacy, but I need not discuss the constitutional questions to which it gives rise. I may be permitted, however, to suggest that it may serve as an illustration of the advantages that might be found to accrue to the Secretary of State from the creation of an advisory Council such as I have advocated.

My views have been confirmed and fortified by events which followed, and resulted in the

appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate and report on the financial and administrative condition of Mauritius. The report of the Commission was published long after my work had been sent to press; but I avail myself of the opportunity to add some observations on the report and evidence in an Appendix. They are my response to the address presented to me by the people of Mauritius, and to their telegrams inviting my sympathy and support.

APPENDIX I

*GENERAL STATISTICS OF THE CROWN COLONIES, INCLUDING DEPENDENCIES
AND PROTECTORATES

Colonies, Etc.	Area.	Population, 1909.	Public Revenue, 1908.	Public Expenditure, 1908.	Public Debt, 31st Dec., 1908.	Imports, 1908, from		Exports, 1908, to	
						United Kingdom.	Total.	United Kingdom.	Total.
EUROPE—									
Gibraltar, -	Sq. Miles. 1½	18,316	£ 82,524	£ 79,523	£ —	£ —	£ —	£ —	£ —
Malta, -	117	212,888	457,520	445,014	79,115	295,852	1,273,049	3,936	120,336
Cyprus, -	3,584	259,000	303,477	244,061	292,537	158,325	618,781	148,057	653,589
Total for Europe, -	3,702½	490,204	843,521	768,598	371,652	454,177	1,891,830	151,993	773,925
ASIA—									
Ceylon, -	25,481	4,038,456	2,371,523	2,335,470	4,773,809	2,283,937	8,686,127	4,259,155	8,678,027
Hong Kong, -	390	421,499	527,760	685,569	1,485,732	—	—	—	—
Wei-hai-wei, -	285	150,000	7,199	14,588	—	—	—	—	—
Straits Settlements, -	1,630	636,334	1,046,385	1,147,723	5,000,000	4,385,785	36,912,860	7,584,897	31,945,448
Federated Malay States, -	26,380	965,850	2,872,721	3,018,700	868,117	603,577	5,990,086	107,637	7,748,862
North Borneo, -	31,106	160,000	142,412	87,335	—	—	321,392	—	538,165
Sarawak, -	42,000	500,000	146,940	145,091	—	—	521,265	—	668,818
Total for Asia, -	127,272	6,872,139	7,114,940	7,434,476	12,127,658	7,273,299	52,431,730	11,951,689	49,579,320

COLONIES, ETC.	Area.	Population, 1909.	Public Revenue, 1908.	Public Expenditure, 1908.	Public Debt, 31st Dec., 1908.	IMPORTS, 1908, from		EXPORTS, 1908, to	
						United Kingdom.	Total.	United Kingdom.	Total.
WEST INDIES—	Sq. Miles.		£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Bahamas, - - -	4,466	60,309	81,862	99,655	63,124	93,538	369,490	30,558	183,239
Barbados, - - -	166	194,477	189,905	198,865	410,900	497,278	1,225,870	107,096	948,178
Jamaica, - - -	4,207	848,656	1,075,389	1,052,121	3,809,487	996,586	2,420,335	489,307	2,268,253
Turk's Island, -	169	5,287	7,404	11,430	—	4,913	24,426	391	24,708
Trinidad and Tobago, -	1,754	343,945	834,745	855,050	1,068,793	944,048	2,682,702	444,224	2,500,195
Windward Isles—									
Grenada, - - -	133	72,988	73,182	72,661	123,670	136,641	303,783	210,563	359,245
St. Lucia, - - -	233	55,095	65,694	65,038	151,030	90,177	289,775	61,305	252,668
St. Vincent, - - -	140	52,592	31,395	27,200	2,750	45,260	113,713	54,444	94,739
Leeward Islands—									
Antigua, - - -									
Dominica, - - -									
Montserrat, - - -									
St. Kitts and Nevis, Virgin Islands, -	704	129,240	154,333	146,216	273,650	225,773	567,593	159,161	536,312
Total for West Indies, -	11,972	1,762,589	2,513,999	2,528,236	5,903,404	3,034,214	7,997,687	1,557,049	7,167,537
AUSTRALASIA—									
Fiji, - - -	7,435	130,891	178,015	197,798	124,115	—	662,653	518	878,394
Total for Australasia, -	7,435	130,891	178,015	197,798	124,115	—	662,653	518	878,394
Total for Colonies, -	1,860,293⁸	38,019,417	16,777,942	17,729,632	29,431,667	19,717,853	80,529,012	21,943,261	75,938,445

* In comparing Imports with Exports, it should be borne in mind that the value of goods imported is that at the place from which they were exported, while that of goods exported is the value in the Colony. The real cost of imports is, therefore, arrived at by adding the cost of importation, which of course, varies greatly according to circumstances.

The Crown colonies have not all the same financial year. In some of them the financial year ends on 31st March, in others on 30th June. The returns are the latest available. Imports and Exports are not given in the case of Hong-Kong, as there are no returns distinguishing the local from the entrepôt trade.

APPENDIX II

SYSTEMS OF LAW OBTAINING IN THE CROWN COLONIES¹

By EDWARD MANSON

One of the Editors of the Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation

EUROPE

MEDITERRANEAN COLONIES

GIBRALTAR

THE common law of Gibraltar is the common law of England. It was substituted for that of Spain, but the peculiar situation and character of Gibraltar and the circumstances consequent on its capture make it difficult to ascertain how and when the alteration of its laws first took place. By Order in Council of 2nd February, 1884, the law of England, as it existed on 31st December, 1883, is brought into force so far as applicable to the circumstances of Gibraltar in matters not provided for by local enactments. The laws were revised and consolidated in 1890, and since then several Imperial Statutes, the Partnership Act, 1890, the Trustee Act, 1893, and the Sale of Goods Act, 1893, have been adopted by local

¹For summaries of the recent legislation in the various colonies, see *Legislation of the Empire*, published under the auspices of the Society of Comparative Legislation. See also Chapter IX. of this work; and for suggestions as to legislative reform in the Crown Colonies see Appendix III.

ordinance. The Supreme Court of Gibraltar is constituted under the Supreme Court Consolidation Order, 1888. There is no Legislature or Legislative Council. The Governor has power to legislate by ordinance with certain restrictions, and subject to a right of disallowance reserved to His Majesty.

MALTA

Malta,—small as it is, about three-fourths of the Isle of Wight in area—has been one of the battlefields of the world.

The law now in force is based on the Roman law as modified by local legislation and usage, on the *Coda Rohan* published in 1784 by the authority of Grand Master Rohan, and on the more modern codes and ordinances. Ordinances No. 7 of 1868 and No. 1 of 1873 are a reproduction, with modifications, of large portions of the Italian Civil Code.

The Supreme Council of Justice consists of a Chief Justice, Judges of the Court of Appeal, and Judges of the Civil Court (First Hall), Commercial Court (Second Hall), and Criminal Court.

An appeal lies to the Privy Council from judgments for sums above £1,000. There are also District Magistrates with limited civil and criminal jurisdiction.

(See also Colonial Office List, 1910.)

CYPRUS

This island, which is about half the size of Wales, has, like Malta, passed through many vicissitudes and known many conquerors.

The law in force in Cyprus is (1) in Ottoman actions or on the prosecution of Ottoman subjects, the common law of the Ottoman Empire as altered or modified from time to time by Cyprus Statute Law; (2) in foreign actions or the prosecution of persons not Ottoman subjects, English law in force on December 21, 1878, as altered from time to time by Cyprus Statute Law. As to Ottoman Land

Law, see an article by Mr. Justice Middleton in the *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, New Ser., 1900, I., p. 141.

The constitution of the Courts is now regulated by the Cyprus Courts of Justice Order, 1882, as amended by Orders in Council 1883, 1902.

They consist of:

1. A supreme Court consisting of a Chief Justice and one Puisne Judge.

2. Assize Courts, one for each caza (province)—of which there are six—held by Supreme and District Court Judges sitting together.

3. A district Court for each caza with limited criminal and unlimited civil jurisdiction. Each District Court is presided over by a president and one Christian and one Moslem District Judge.

4. Magistrates' Courts for each caza.

5. Village Judges.

The only Ottoman tribunals remaining are those exercising jurisdiction in matters of Moslem faith.

ASIA

CEYLON

In 1795-96 the settlements of the Dutch in Ceylon, which they had occupied for nearly a century and a half, capitulated to the British, and were annexed to the presidency of Madras. In 1801 Ceylon was constituted a separate colony. By the terms of capitulation the Dutch were allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of their property, their institutions were upheld, and the Roman-Dutch law was adopted as the law of the colony. It still remains so, subject to terms conceded to the native government of the interior, subjugated in 1815, when the whole island fell under British rule. By virtue of these terms, the native communities of Kandyans, Mahomedans, and Tamils in the Central, Eastern, and Northern Provinces live under a peculiar system of personal laws. Many local Ordinances have been grafted on the original

stock, including portions of English law, mostly maritime and commercial, and English rules of equity have been introduced by judicial decisions. In 1883 Ceylon adopted, with amendments, the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes of India.

A revised edition of the legislative enactments of the island by H. White and H. A. Loos was legalised in 1901.

There is a Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges. It has an original criminal jurisdiction, and decides appeals from the inferior Courts both in civil and criminal cases. The Police Courts and Courts of Requests dispose, respectively, of trivial criminal and civil suits, while the District Courts have a criminal jurisdiction intermediate between the Supreme Court and the Police Courts, and an unlimited civil jurisdiction. An appeal from the Supreme Court lies in case of final judgments for sums above 5000 rupees. In 1889, *Gansabháwas*, village councils on the lines of the Indian *panchayat*, were established with powers to deal with petty offences and trifling civil claims. They are empowered to make rules, subject to the approval of the Governor in Council, relating to their village economy and local improvements.

HONG KONG

The common law of the Colony is the common law of England as it existed when the Colony obtained a local legislature in 1843, except so far as such common law is "inapplicable to the local circumstances of the Colony or its inhabitants." (See Ordinance 12 of 1873, s. 7.) The statute law consists of Ordinances passed by the Legislature of the Colony with the assent of the Governor and Imperial Acts expressly applying to the Colony. Many Imperial Acts have been adopted by Ordinance. See Chapter IX.

The constitution of the Colony and the powers of the Governor are defined by a Royal Charter dated January 19, 1888.

His Majesty has under certain Imperial Acts power to legislate for the Colony by Order in Council. Certain Ordinances apply exclusively to the Chinese. These deal with a hospital for Chinese, wills made by Chinese, extradition of Chinese subjects, attendance by Chinese at public meetings, protection of Chinese emigrants and the immigration of Chinese in case of an infectious disease.

There is a Supreme Court consisting of a Chief Justice and one Puisne Judge.

The law as to civil procedure in the Colony has been codified. It is based partly on English and partly on Indian practice with some local modifications.

A revised edition of the statute law was published in 1900.

WEI-HAI-WEI

The territory of Wei-hai-Wei comprehends the island of Liu Kung, all the islands in the Bay of Wei-hai-Wei, and a belt of land ten miles wide along the entire coast line of that bay, including the territorial waters of the said islands and coast. It was leased to Great Britain by China "for so long a period as Port-Arthur remains in the possession of Russia" by a Convention made on July 1st, 1898. An Order in Council (Wei-hai-Wei), 1901, provides for the High Court of Wei-hai-Wei, and invests it with jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over all persons, being and matters arising within the territories. It may sit at any place within these territories. Provision is also made for the appointment of Magistrates for the districts. English law is to be followed generally, but in civil cases between natives, regard is to be had to Chinese or other native law and custom. When a native is a party to any case, civil or criminal, the Court may try it with two native assessors. The High Court may award any punishment competent to any Court of criminal jurisdiction in England. The criminal jurisdiction of the Magistrate does not extend to treason, murder, rape, forgery, and perjury. An appeal lies in civil cases to the Supreme Court of Hong Kong.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

The common law of the Straits Settlements is the law of England as it stood in 1826. It was introduced by a charter of that date. But this law is subject, in its application to alien races established in these Settlements, to such modifications as are necessary to prevent its operating unjustly or oppressively. There are special laws also regulating the marriage of Hindu widows, the marriage and divorce of Parsees and intestate successors in the case of Parsees.

The common law is supplemented by the Ordinances passed by the Legislative Council since April, 1867, the date when the Settlements were detached from India and formed into a separate Colony. These Ordinances adopt a number of important English Acts, such as the Bills of Sale Act, 1878, the Bankruptcy Act, 1883, the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887, and the Companies Act, 1862.

The Civil Law Ordinance, 1878, also contains a comprehensive provision that "in all questions or issues which may hereafter arise or which may have to be decided in this Colony with respect to the law of partnerships, joint stock companies, corporations, banks and banking, principal and agents, carriers by land and sea, marine insurance, average, life and fire insurance, and with respect to mercantile law generally, the law to be administered in England in the like case at the corresponding period, as if such questions had arisen or had to be decided in England, unless any other provision is or shall be made by any Statute now in force in this Colony or hereafter to be enacted." There is a special proviso excepting all matters connected with land.

There is a Supreme Court held before the Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges: also Police Courts presided over by a single police magistrate with limited jurisdiction.

LABUAN

The common law of Labuan, ceded to the Crown in 1846, is the common law of England. It is supplemented

by Ordinances enacted formerly by the Governor and Legislative Council, and now by the Governor, subject to the approval of the Colonial Office.

THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES

The federation known by this name consists of four native States of the Malay Peninsula—Perak, Selangor, Pahang, and Negri Sembilan. In 1895 these States, which had some time previously placed themselves under British protection, entered into a treaty by which they agreed to form themselves into a federation to be administered under the British Government's advice. This arrangement was formally inaugurated on July 1, 1896.

The supreme authority in each of the States is vested in a State Council composed of the more important Malay Chiefs and Chinese merchants, presided over by the Sultan, assisted by the British Resident. There is also a Resident General to control the Residents in each State. The Governor of the Straits Settlements is also High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States.

The laws in force in each case consist of local Ordinances borrowed wholesale from the English Statute Book.

In each State there is a Supreme Court, composed of (1) the Court of a Judicial Commissioner, and (2) a Court of Appeal. The Court of Appeal is composed of two or more Judicial Commissioners, presided over by the Chief Judicial Commissioner. "The jury system," says Mr. Alexander Pulling, "was found not to work satisfactorily, and was abolished in favour of trial by a Judge with assessors."

There are also Magistrates' Courts of the first and second class, the Court of a Kathi and of an assistant Kathi, and the Court of a Penghulu.

NORTH BORNEO

The territory of this Protectorate—about 31,000 square miles—lies to the north of the Island of Borneo. It

became the property of the British North Borneo Company in 1882, and in 1888 the British Government assumed a formal protectorate. The State is administered by the Company as an independent State under the protection of His Majesty's Government, who appoint consular officers and conduct all foreign relations. The territory itself is administered by a Court of Directors in London, who appoint a Governor and Civil Service. The appointment of the Governor is subject to the approval of the Secretary of State.

The law of the country is based on the Indian Penal, Criminal Procedure, and Civil Procedure Codes, with an adaptation in special instances of several of the Acts in force in the British Colonies, and an Imam's Court for the administration of Mohammedan law, with native courts for trials by local custom.

SARAWAK

The story of Sarawak, as told by Sir Charles Lucas, is one of peculiar interest. During a voyage to China, Mr. James Brooke, the son of an Indian civilian, had been struck by the beauty and fertility of the territories of the Malay Seas, and had conceived the idea of rescuing Borneo from its then state of barbarism by the establishment of British settlements on the mainland and the gradual expansion of British influence among the native rulers. On a visit to Sarawak, which lies near the western extremity of the north coast of Borneo, he found a rebellion on foot against Rajah Muda Hassim, heir-apparent of the Sultan of Brunei. By the assistance of Mr. Brooke and the crew of his yacht, the Rajah was able to put down the rebellion, and as a mark of gratitude the Rajah offered to confer upon him the government of Sarawak. Mr. Brooke decided to accept the offer with a view to giving the natives the benefit of a just government in place of the systematic oppression to which they were accustomed, and in September, 1811, he was proclaimed Governor of Sarawak. The grant of the territory

was formally approved by the Sultan of Brunei in the following year. Sarawak was placed under British protection by agreement with the Rajah of Sarawak in 1888, by which His Majesty's Government has the right to establish consular officers in Sarawak.

Sarawak is governed by a Rajah, who is absolute, assisted by a Supreme Council of seven, three of whom are the chief European residents, and the rest natives nominated by the Rajah. There is also a General Council of fifty, which meets every three years.

There is a Court of Requests for judicial purposes presided over by a Magistrate.

AFRICA

BASUTOLAND

This, which was formerly part of Cape Colony, is now a separate territory under the legislative authority of the High Commissioner for South Africa. The law is that of Cape Colony, and is administered by a Resident Commissioner.

BRITISH BECHUANALAND

This territory was annexed to Cape Colony, November 16, 1895. Roman Dutch law, which was the law obtaining there at the date of annexation, remains in force, also the native jurisdiction created by SS. 31, 32, of Schedule to Proc. 2 B.B. of 1885. The High Court of Gricqualand and of Cape Colony have concurrent jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of the Resident Magistrates is incorporated in the legal system of Cape Colony.

SWAZILAND

This territory is bounded on the north, west, and south by the Transvaal. It underwent many changes of administration during the South African troubles. After the treaty of Vereeniging the administration was vested in the Governor of the Transvaal, who, in the exercise of the

power of legislation so vested in him, issued, in 1904, a proclamation applying the laws of the Transvaal, *mutatis mutandi*, to the territory. Native laws and customs are retained so far as not repugnant to justice and morality. In 1906 the control of Swaziland was transferred from the Governor of the Transvaal to the High Commissioner of South Africa.

A special Court of Swaziland and a Court of the Resident Commissioner of Swaziland were constituted under Orders in Council in 1903 and 1906. An appeal from these Courts lies to His Majesty in Council.

MAURITIUS

This island, which was formerly a French possession, was governed by French law as modified or supplemented by local enactments. By one of the Articles of Capitulation (1810), subsequently confirmed by proclamation, the laws in force at the date of the capitulation were preserved. See Chapter ix. By the Treaty of Paris (1814), Mauritius and its dependencies—Rodriguez and Diego Garcia—were ceded to England “in full right and sovereignty” without any express reservation as to the laws. The existing laws were nevertheless preserved, and in course of time modified on certain points by subsequent legislation derived from French as well as from English sources. The common law of England has been made applicable to trials by jury and in matters of evidence on all points not provided for by the local law.

The Statute law consists mainly of the French Civil Code, the French Code of Civil Procedure, and the French Code of Commerce, such as they stood in 1810, together with the Statutes of the United Kingdom which are expressly or by necessary intendment made applicable to the colonies, Orders in Council, and local Ordinances.

A revised edition of the Statute law of the colony was published in 1902. See as to this and as to the merits of French law Chapter ix. of this work.

There is a Supreme Court constituted by a Chief

Justice and two or more Puisne Judges. There are also District Courts and Stipendiary Courts.

SEYCHELLES

This group of islands was until recently a dependency of Mauritius. It was made a separate colony by Letters Patent in 1902. The law consists mainly of the French Civil Code of 1814, the French Code of Civil Procedure of 1814, the French Commercial Code of 1814, the Mauritius Penal Code Ordinances passed by the Mauritius Legislature expressly for Seychelles, Ordinances passed by the local legislative boards, and English Statutes applicable to all British possessions.

A Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice only, was constituted by the Seychelles Judicature Order in Council, August 10th, 1903. There is an appeal from the Court to the Supreme Court of Mauritius in cases where the amount at stake exceeds Rs.2000. Capital cases are tried at Victoria in the Island of Mahé, which is the seat of government, by a Court of Assize, consisting of the Chief Justice and not less than eight assessors.

ST. HELENA

The law is the law of England,—so far as applicable to local circumstances,—as varied by local legislation.

The Supreme Court consists of the Governor as Chief Justice, assisted when necessary by members of the Executive Council as assessors.

SIERRA LEONE

The common law of England prevails in Sierra Leone. Having been acquired by occupancy (1799), and not by conquest or cession, it is a plantation in the strict sense of the term, and the settlers carried with them the law of England. See Chapter ix. In addition, the Statute law of England down to 1881 has been applied to the Colony by local Ordinance. Many subsequent Imperial Acts have also been adopted by Ordinance, embodying

the principles of the Acts, with such modifications as local conditions may require. Ordinances are made by the Governor in Council, that is, by the Governor sitting with the following officials: the Officer commanding the troops, the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, and the King's Advocate.

GAMBIA

This was from an early date—1664—a settlement of British merchants, who took the common law of England with them. From being a dependency of Sierra Leone, it was in 1843 constituted a separate Settlement.

On the common law have been engrafted Imperial Acts expressly made applicable to the Colony, Ordinances passed by the local Legislature, Orders of the King in Council and of the Administrator in Council. A large number of Imperial Acts have also been adopted by Ordinance. There is a Supreme Court held before the Chief Magistrate—since 1905—and a Mahommedan Court under a Code appointed by the Governor. There are also native tribunals—constituted under the Gambia Protectorate Ordinance, 1894—with power to administer native laws and customs not repugnant to natural justice or any local Ordinance. This qualification seems very necessary, having regard to some of the native customs—their funeral rites more particularly.

GOLD COAST COLONY

The common law in this Colony is the common law of England on July 24, 1874. This is modified by ss. 7, 12, 13, of the Criminal Code with respect to acts which are offences under that Code. The statute law consists of local Ordinances (see *Journal of Comp. Legis.*, O.S., I., p. 147), and the Order in Council regulating appeals to the Privy Council. In suits between natives, native law and custom "not being repugnant to natural justice, etc.," is applicable. Native custom is also to prevail in relation to marriage, the tenure of real and personal property,

inheritance and testamentary disposition, also in causes between European and natives where strict adherence to English law would effect injustice. The Legislative Council is composed of the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney, the Treasurer, the Inspector-General of Constabulary, and such unofficial members as His Majesty may be pleased to appoint.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and four Puisne Judges. There are also District Commissioners' Courts, with executive as well as judicial powers.

ASHANTI

Courts are provided for by the Ashanti Administration Ordinance, 1902. They consist of:

1. A chief Commissioner's Court with jurisdiction throughout Ashanti. Gold Coast law is to be followed both in civil and criminal cases.

2. A District Commissioner's Court for each District.

3. Native Courts with civil jurisdiction up to £100, and criminal jurisdiction in all but the more serious offences—murder or attempted murder, rape, robbery with violence, slave dealing, or grievously wounding. An appeal lies to the Chief Commissioner or District Commissioner, subject to rules.

SOUTHERN NIGERIA

The Island of Lagos was acquired by cession—in 1861—for the suppression of the slave trade. With the Gold Coast it formed at one time (1876) the Gold Coast Colony. In 1886 Lagos became a separate Colony, and it has now received a new designation—Southern Nigeria. The common law of the Colony is the common law of England (Supreme Court Ordinance, 1876). The statute law consists of the Statutes of general application in force in England on the 24th day of July, 1874—made applicable by the above-mentioned Supreme Court Ordinance, 1876, and of Ordinances passed by the Legislative Council of the Colony.

There is no law applying to particular races or creeds, but by the same Supreme Court Ordinance, 1876, native laws and customs "not being repugnant to natural justice, equity, and good conscience, nor incompatible, either directly or by necessary implication with any enactment of the Colonial Legislature," are to be "applicable in causes and matters where the parties thereto are natives of the Colony," and also in causes and matters between natives and Europeans where it may appear to the Court that substantial injustice would be done to either party by a strict adherence to the rules of English law.

The laws of Southern Nigeria were collected in two volumes in 1908.

NORTHERN NIGERIA

The common law is the common law of England, and was introduced by s. 34 of the Protectorate Courts Proclamation, 1900, repealed but afterwards re-enacted as the Supreme Court Proclamation, 1901, and the Provincial Courts Proclamation, 1902. This is supplemented by orders of the Sovereign in Council and by Proclamations enacted by the High Commissioner under the Northern Nigeria Order in Council, 1899.

NYASALAND

This territory became a British Protectorate in 1891. It was formerly known as British Central Africa, but its name has now been altered to the Nyasaland Protectorate (Order in Council, July, 1907). It comprises the territories situated to the west and south of Lake Nyasa, and is bounded by North-Eastern Rhodesia, German East Africa, and the Portuguese possessions (British Central Africa Order in Council, 1902, Art. 1). By the Nyasaland Order in Council of 1907, a Governor and Commander-in-Chief were substituted for a Commissioner. An Executive Council was appointed, and also a Legislative Council, to consist of the Governor and such other persons, not less than two, as His Majesty may

direct. The Governor has a right of veto in the making and passing of all Ordinances, and the power to legislate by Order in Council is expressly reserved.

By the Nyasaland Order in Council No. 2, the law to be administered by the High Court of the Protectorate is to be that in force in England on August 11th, 1902.

There is a High Court with full civil and criminal jurisdiction over all persons and all matters in the Protectorate, and Subordinate District Courts. There is also a Court of Appeal—created by the East African Protectorate Order in Council, 1902—to hear appeals from British Central Africa, East Africa, and Uganda.

EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE

The law in force in the Protectorate consists of the law as laid down in the Indian Criminal and Civil Codes, supplemented by a number of Ordinances brought into force under Orders in Council.

There is also the native law and custom as administered in the Native Courts in special districts and Mahommedan law among Mahommedan natives in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Ex-territorial jurisdiction in the Protectorate is regulated by the East Africa Order in Council, 1902.

There is a High Court sitting at such places as the Governor appoints.

SOMALILAND PROTECTORATE

This Protectorate, which lies close to the Gulf of Aden and the Empire of Ethiopia, came into existence in 1884. It was taken over by the Colonial Office in 1905. The Protectorate is administered under a series of Orders in Council, of which the most important is the Order of 1899. The Consul General mentioned in the Ordinance of 1899 is now replaced by a Commissioner who legislates by Ordinances. The jurisdiction extends to British subjects, foreigners, property, and all personal proprietary rights and liabilities in the Protectorate of British subjects

and foreigners, including ships with their boats. The law is in the main the law of British India. A number of Indian Acts scheduled to the Order are specially applied. By Order in Council, 1904, in all cases criminal and civil, to which natives are parties, regard is to be paid to native laws so far as these are not repugnant to law, justice, and morality.

There are District Courts established under the provisions of the Bombay Courts Act, 1869.

UGANDA

The High Court of Uganda has full jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over all persons and matters in the Protectorate (Uganda Order in Council, 1902, Art. 15). The jurisdiction is exercised in general conformity with the Indian Civil Procedure, Criminal Procedure and Penal Codes. It sits at such places as the Commissioner appoints. Subordinate Courts also have been constituted.

A British Native Court with the Collector as Judge may be established by the Commissioner in any district of the Protectorate. The Collector may appoint one or more native assessors, but these are to have a consultative voice only. The High Court has power to revise sentences which appear unjust.

ZANZIBAR

The Sultan's enactments constitute the native statute law of Zanzibar as the Sheria of Islam embodied in a vast mass of traditions, commentaries and records of judgments constitute its common law.

Since the establishment of the Protectorate and the institution of a European administration, enactments having the force of law have been made by the Sultan's Prime Minister in the Sultan's name. They are not like the Sultan's own Proclamations called "Decrees," but Ordinances or Regulations. When they affect foreign relations or are made under the general act of the Brussels Conference, which has become by the adhesion

of the Sultan part both of the internal law and of the international obligations of Zanzibar, they are countersigned by the British Agent under authority from His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Subjects of Great Britain and of certain foreign powers having treaties with the Sultanate enjoy ex-territorial rights and can only be sued or prosecuted in their own Courts. The jurisdiction is dealt with by the Zanzibar Order in Council, May 11, 1906. The Court for Zanzibar consists of a Judge, Assistant Judge, and Magistrate.

AMERICA

BERMUDA

The common law of the Islands is that of England, introduced on the original settlement of the Colony in 1612. It is supplemented by Acts of the Legislature from 1690, and Regulations made by the Governor in Council. There is a Supreme Court consolidated in 1905, composed of a Chief Justice and not more than two Assistant Justices.

BRITISH GUIANA

Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice (afterwards consolidated into one colony—British Guiana, 1831) were captured in the war with Holland by the British forces in 1803, and by the articles of capitulation the inhabitants were to continue to enjoy the laws by which they had hitherto been governed. These laws were the Roman-Dutch law, which still obtains with modifications and additions. One of the most important of these is the introduction of English mercantile law.

British Guiana has a Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges. An appeal lies to the Privy Council when the interest involved is of the value of £500 sterling. There are also Magistrates' Courts, with civil and criminal jurisdiction in every district.

For an account of the consolidation of the laws of British Guiana in 1905, see Chapter ix. of this work.

BRITISH HONDURAS

This Colony was acquired in 1870 partly by cession and partly by settlement. By the Consolidated laws of the Colony, 1888, "the common law of England and all statutes of the Imperial Parliament in abrogation or derogation or in any way declaratory of the common law" are to be enforced in the Colony; but certain Imperial Statutes, *e.g.* those relating to Bankruptcy, Customs, and Excise, and to any trade, profession, or business are excluded. The Consolidated Laws have been greatly added to by recent legislation, and incorporate many Imperial Statutes, *e.g.* the Bills of Sale Act, 1878, the Judicature Acts, the Law of Inheritance, the Statutes of Limitation and Trusts, have been adopted. Areas of land are reserved for the Indians or Caribs, who hold their lands under regulations made by the Governor in Council with the sanction of the Secretary of State.

There is a Supreme Court constituted at present of the Chief Justice alone, and District Courts with jurisdiction to determine summarily (subject to exceptions similar to those of our County Courts) all personal actions where the amount claimed does not exceed \$100.

FALKLAND ISLANDS

The British sovereignty over this group of Islands was first effectually asserted in 1832.

The law is the law in force in England on January 1, 1850, at which date it was made applicable to the Colony, supplemented and amended by local ordinances.

WEST INDIES

BAHAMAS

These islands were acquired by settlement, and the common law is the common law of England, or so much

thereof as "was necessary, convenient, and not inapplicable to the circumstances of the settlement," supplemented mainly by local Acts and Imperial Acts made applicable to the Colony. There is a Supreme Court, consisting of the Chief Justice alone, and 12 resident Justices with summary criminal and petty civil jurisdiction.

BARBADOS

This island was at one time part of the Windward group and the seat of government. It was separated and created an independent colony in 1885.

As a possession acquired by settlement in 1605 and 1625, the settlers took with them the common law of England and such Acts of Parliament applicable to its conditions as were passed before the date of settlement. A charter was granted to the island by Charles I., and was confirmed and ratified on behalf of the Commonwealth of England in 1652. By this charter (Art. 3), "No taxes, customs, loans, or excise shall be laid or levy made on any of the inhabitants of this island without their consent in a general assembly." "From that period," says Sir Conrad Reeves, C.J.,¹ "representative assemblies elected by colonists possessing the right of suffrage as fixed by law have been annually elected and called together, who, with the consent of the Legislative Council, a body nominated by the Crown and consisting of nine members, have uniformly passed laws for the good government of the colony."

There is also a County Court and an Assistant Court of Appeal.

JAMAICA

Jamaica, it has been held, is a settled, not a conquered, country. The English common law with the English Statute law up to that date was introduced in 1655. The Island Statute I., Geo. II. c. 1, s. 22, enacts that "all such laws and statutes of England as have been at any time esteemed, introduced, accepted, or received as laws in

¹ *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, Vol. II., pp. 102-3.

this Island, shall and are hereby declared to be laws of this Island for ever." (For the meaning of this enactment see *Jacquet vs. Edwards* in the Supreme Court of Jamaica, 1866). Other laws have since been added by the Legislative Council and several Imperial Acts copied. There is a Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges. There is also in each of the 14 parishes of the island a resident Magistrate and Court with limited jurisdiction.

THE TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS

These islands were at one time for administrative purposes included in the colony of the Bahamas. They were, however, in 1873, by an Order in Council made under an Imperial Act, annexed to the colony of Jamaica. The laws of the Legislative Council of Jamaica are expressly made applicable to the islands, but there is a Legislative Board which deals with local legislation. This Legislative Board consists of the Commissioner and Judge, and not less than two or more than four other members appointed by the Governor of Jamaica.

The Statute law was consolidated in 1907.

There is a Supreme Court, held before a single Judge, exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction, and Assistant Commissioners who act as Police Magistrates.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

These two islands were under separate Governments until united by an Order in Council of 17th November, 1888. The common law of England is the common law of both. The Statute law consists mainly of Ordinances made by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council. There have been introduced a number of English Acts, among them the Conveyancing and Law of Property Act, 1882, the Married Women's Property Act, 1882, the Bills of Sale Act, 1878, the Sale of Goods Act, 1893. The Statute law was consolidated in 1902.

There is a Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges. There are also District Petty Civil Courts and Stipendiary Justices appointed by the Governor.

THE WINDWARD ISLANDS

This group of islands, which lie in the Caribbean Sea, includes Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. The Windward Islands, unlike the Leeward Islands, are not a federation. Each of the three colonies has its own institutions, but under a common Governor. Grenada is the headquarters of the Government.

GRENADA

Grenada was originally a French possession. After various vicissitudes in the war between France and Great Britain, it was finally ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. The common law of the island is the English common law. It was introduced by royal proclamations in December, 1764, and January, 1784. The latter is printed in the 1875 edition of the Laws of Grenada, pp. 7-11. There are also local Ordinances, among the more important of which may be mentioned the Supreme Court Ordinance—a Code of Civil Procedure—the Criminal Code Ordinance, the Criminal Procedure Code Ordinance, based on the St. Lucia Criminal Code, which in its turn was based on the Jamaica Criminal Code drafted by Mr. Robert S. Wright, afterwards Mr. Justice Wright.

A full account of the consolidation and codification of the laws, 1894-98, is given in Chapter IX. of this work.

There is a Supreme Court, consisting of the Chief Justice and Police Magistrates for the various districts. An appeal lies from the Supreme Court to the Court of Appeal for the Windward Islands.

ST. LUCIA

This island, discovered by Columbus in 1502, was in the course of the 300 years of its subsequent history,

taken and retaken by belligerent England and France. It was finally captured by England in 1803, since when it has remained a British possession.

In this colony the common law prevails when the Codes are silent. It was introduced by the English Judges nearly forty years ago. Prior to that time the French Judges applied the *Coutume de Paris*.

The Statute law of the Colony consists of Ordinances, and includes a Civil Code, a Criminal Code, and a Code of Criminal Procedure. The Statutes of the United Kingdom do not operate in the Colony, but numerous Imperial Statutes, such as those dealing with Merchant Shipping, Bills of Exchange, Police, Customs, and Companies, have been adopted by Ordinance. The Colonial Extradition Ordinance, 1877 (No. 45 of the Laws of St. Lucia), has been by Order in Council incorporated with the Imperial Act. A Code of civil law, by Sir George des Vœux and Mr. James Armstrong, was legalised in 1879. The Statute law of the Colony was consolidated by Sir J. W. Carrington in 1889.

The Royal Court of St. Lucia is held before the Chief Justice as sole judge. It has a very wide jurisdiction. An appeal lies from it to the Court of Appeal for the Windward Islands, and from that Court—where the sum involved exceeds £300—to the Privy Council.

ST. VINCENT

St. Vincent was ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, and by His Majesty's Proclamation on October 7th of the same year, was with Grenada, Dominica, Tobago, and the Grenadines formed into one Government. By this proclamation the common law of England and the Statute law, so far as is applicable, have been generally considered to have been introduced into the Colony, but whether any particular Statute of the United Kingdom passed prior to 1763—the date of cession—is in force in the Colony or not has to be settled in each case by judicial decision.

The Statute law of the Colony consists of Acts and Ordinances, and of Regulations or Orders in Council made thereunder.

By the Windward Islands Act, 1850, a Court of Appeal for islands forming the group is constituted. It is composed of the Chief Justices of Barbados, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. An appeal from this Court lies to the Privy Council where the sum involved exceeds £300.

For an account of the consolidation of these Acts, Ordinances, and Regulations, see Chapter IX. The work was completed in 1907.

THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

This group of Islands in the West Indies comprises five Presidencies—Antigua, Montserrat, St. Christopher and Nevis, Dominica and the Virgins. It constitutes, as has been remarked by Sir F. Piggott, the only instance of a federation of British Colonies under a common legislature.

The Leeward Islands Act, 1871, established a Governor with a legislative and executive Council for the Presidencies. This legislative Council—by the Federation Act of 1899—is composed of 16 members, 8 official and 8 elected. It meets annually and remains in office three years.

Each Island Legislature has the Crown Colony form of constitution.

All the Islands, except Dominica, were acquired by settlement, and the settlers took with them the common law of England. The law of England was applied to Dominica by Proclamation in 1763. On this stock have been engrafted certain Imperial Acts and Acts of the Federal Legislature.

There is a Supreme Court, which has its principal seat in Antigua. It is composed of a Chief Justice and a Puisne Judge. Circuit Courts are held in the different Island Presidencies. Each district of the Colony has also its Resident Magistrate.

See Burge—*Commentaries*, 2nd Ed.; *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, N.S., Vol. II., pp. 110-113.

AUSTRALASIA

THE FIJI ISLANDS

These islands were ceded to the Crown by their Chiefs in 1874. The following year the Colony received a Charter providing for its government and giving it a local legislature.

The law of the Colony is the law which was in force in England at the date of the Charter, so far as suited to the circumstances of the Colony, and as enlarged by subsequent local legislation and any Imperial Acts or Orders applied to the Colony. Many Imperial Acts adopted by the Colony may be mentioned: The Married Women's Property Act, 1882; The Bills of Exchange Act, 1882; The Bills of Sale Act, 1878; The Bankruptcy Act, 1883; and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885. The Ordinances were consolidated in 1906.

The law is administered by a Supreme Court presided over by a Chief Justice. The relations of the native Fijians, *inter se*, are governed by the Native Regulations made by the Native Regulation Board under the Native Affairs Regulation Ordinance (No. 35 of 1876). These Regulations when approved by the Legislative Council have the force of law. They are administered by two Courts, both of summary jurisdiction, a District Court, presided over by a Native Stipendiary Magistrate, and a Provincial Court presided over by a European Stipendiary Magistrate, and one or more Native Stipendiary Magistrates. An appeal lies from the District Court to the Provincial Court. The Attorney-General may refer the decision of a Native Stipendiary Magistrate to the Supreme Court. See *Journal of Comp. Leg.*, O.S., Vol. I., 361.

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APPENDIX III

PROPOSALS FOR A SCHEME OF LEGISLATIVE REFORM IN THE CROWN COLONIES

By SIR FRANCIS T. PIGGOTT

(4) General legislative reform ; first, as to the future.

The basis on which all orderly, and therefore easily intelligible, legislation must rest is a Common Form and Interpretation Ordinance.

The importance of "common forms" cannot be too strongly insisted on, for they not only simplify the work of the draftsman, and reduce the bulk of the various ordinances, but they introduce a common standard on many points of detail,—important detail—which are apt to be overlooked in the hurry of drafting, or to be treated differently by different draftsmen. These "common forms" cover a wide area : from the simple "coming into effect" clause, to the important provisions as to the making of Regulations under an Ordinance. There is another advantage of a very practical nature from the Government point of view. The discussion on these points of detail is had once and for all when the Common Form Ordinance is passing through the Legislative Council, and cannot be renewed with each successive Ordinance of which they would otherwise inevitably form part. To take a concrete example ; few points are more

strenuously contested by the unofficial members than the power of making Regulations by the Head of the Department, or the Governor in Executive Council. The discussion is perfectly legitimate, because the effect of this power is virtually to give the right to legislate to the Executive, and by so much to diminish the rights of the Council. But the tendency of modern legislation is to leave details to regulations, because amendments are more easily made in them, a fresh Ordinance not being required. It is obvious therefore that the retention of such a power by the Executive should be governed by well-defined rules, such as regard the laying of the regulations when made on the table of the Council, and the power of amendment by the Council itself. Whatever principle is adopted it should be clearly defined, so that when the power to make regulations under any new Ordinance is taken the Council clearly understands how it will be exercised.

The importance of "Interpretation" is that it tends to shorten language, terms are used uniformly in all Ordinances, and by preventing unnecessary verbiage, it clarifies the style in which Ordinances are drafted. I look on drafting as a fine art, not too greatly studied. And if we remember a well-known dictum, that laws should be so drafted that a person so minded cannot deliberately misunderstand them, the importance of style cannot be overrated.

The duty of preparing an Ordinance of this nature falls naturally on the colonial Law Officer. He will find of course the English Interpretation Act, 1889, of great service, and he should conform to it as far as possible. There are likely to be many sections of local importance which he will find it necessary to introduce, especially in a colony where a foreign law is in force. But the Colonial Office should co-operate; and I conceive that its duty is to bring about uniformity as far as possible in these basic Ordinances throughout the Empire.

Secondly, as to the past.

The Common Form and Interpretation Ordinance should form the basis of past as well as of future legislation, and this can be done by an Extension Ordinance,—that is to say, an Ordinance extending the principles of common form and interpretation to existing legislation. No Law Officer will need to be reminded of the immense advantage of having the whole of the Statute Book of which he is in charge governed by the same principles on these points. But the Extension Ordinance is exceedingly difficult to draft; and interference with so much existing legislation can hardly be attempted without the goodwill and assistance of the unofficial Members of Council. But it is worth devoting any amount of labour to it. It must of course be accompanied by a Revision Ordinance, which must come into force simultaneously with it. In this Ordinance all the sections which have been replaced by the standard ones in the Common Form Ordinance must be eliminated. When the Extension and Revision Ordinances have been successfully passed, a very large part of the work of codification is done. The mass of matter rendered useless and cut out will be found to be enormous, and further revision on the lines of the English Statute Law Revision Acts will be found to be comparatively easy.

The ground is almost prepared now for a new edition of the Ordinances; but one more step is necessary, consolidation; that is, bringing up all amending Ordinances into the parent Ordinance on each subject.

Codification is another matter, and I do not think it should be attempted until the new edition has been issued and has been tested by experience. But when it is decided to proceed with it, the mass of legislation will be found to have been made more malleable by the preliminary excisions.

(B) The revision of the fundamental law. This must be divided into two branches; the colonies where foreign law obtains, and those where old English law is in force.

Colonies where foreign law obtains.—Speaking with my

experience of Mauritius, I consider this one of the most important works that a Government can undertake, but it is almost beyond the powers of a Law Officer from home. He must have the assistance of a local committee on which the local lawyers, more versed in the foreign law, should be asked to co-operate. The task is a very large one, and must occupy several years. In Mauritius it means editing the French codes as in force in the colony. Even though it was practically reduced to the Code Civil it was found impossible to attempt it. Large masses of the Code have indeed been repealed and replaced by colonial legislation; but there is a great deal of it, more especially those parts which lay down general principles, which requires the most careful consideration. But in spite of the labour involved it ought to be done.

Colonies where old English law is in force.—The work here is equally important, but it is free from the difficulties which foreign law presents. Its necessity is illustrated by the case which occurred in Hong Kong, referred to in the ninth chapter of the work to which these proposals form an appendix. It is often impossible to know where you are when you come to deal with subjects the law on which has long been repealed in England, but which is left as it was in the colonies. This question affects so many colonies which have definite charters defining the date at which English law became the law of the colony, that it is almost an Imperial matter, and much good work could be done by a Committee in England; for what is true of one colony is probably true of many.

(C) This much accomplished, there is that mass of imperial legislation applicable to the colonies which stands in such urgent need of revision, and this must, of course, be done by the Colonial Office.

(D) The past thus cared for, we turn to the future. As new legislation is passed applicable to the colonies, it should be the duty of the Colonial Office to draw the attention of the colonial Government to it, and explain the drift and probable effect of it. It may be said this

is done now. It is, but intermittently. For instance, the Lunacy Act of 1890 contains a provision to the effect that the power of the Judge in Lunacy extends to property within any British possession. And the Trustee Act of 1893 contains a similar extension of the powers of the High Court to make vesting orders with regard to land and personal property in the colonies: a power which was afterwards extended to the High Court in Ireland. Was the attention of the colonial Governments, and, through them, of the people in the colonies, drawn to these very wide provisions? It can hardly be expected that the colonial Law Officers should discover them,—little clauses of three or four lines in lengthy Acts, not otherwise applicable to the colonies. And here is another pitfall. Suppose these laws introduced bodily into the colonies, it may well happen that these wide powers will be overlooked and the colonial Supreme Court be inadvertently vested with them. From all points of view therefore it is wiser to prevent difficulties and possible litigation by some such simple system as suggested.

(*E*) Again, there are the laws not applicable to the colonies, but which it may be advisable to apply to them. The attention of the Government of the colonies would be called to them and the matter promptly dealt with.

(*F*) Finally, there is the collation and supervision of colonial laws as passed. This supervision is apt to be exceedingly annoying to the Law Officer if it is carried on intermittently. But systematically carried out nothing could be of greater service to the colonies. Part of the system should be the collocation of the laws of different colonies on the same subject. By this means endless difficulties would be met and overcome. Take the case of laws dealing with sanitation and the public health. There are many clauses in such a law which depend on principles which should be identical in every colony. How convenient it would have been in the past if Ordinances passed in other colonies could have been used as models. It will be equally convenient in the future.

APPENDIX IV

BRITISH GUIANA

THE IMMIGRATION ORDINANCE, 1891¹

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

Preliminary

SECTION.

1. Short title.
2. Interpretation of terms.
3. Division of the Ordinance.
4. Forms. First Schedule.
5. Naming of places of emigration.

PART I

THE IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT

The Immigration Agent-General

6. Appointment and salary of Immigration Agent-General.
7. General duties of the Immigration Agent-General.
8. General powers of the Immigration Agent-General.

The Senior Immigration Agent

9. Appointment and salary of Senior Immigration Agent.
10. General duties of the Senior Immigration Agent.

Immigration Agents, etc.

11. Appointment, duties, and salaries of Immigration Agents, etc.

¹ See Vol. I., p. 340.

Medical Officers

SECTION.

12. Power to the Surgeon-General to visit plantation, etc.
13. Appointment and salary of Medical Inspector.
14. General duties of the Medical Inspector.
15. Duties of Government Medical-Officers in immigration matters.
16. Requisition for special visit of Government Medical Officer.

Work of the Department

17. Powers of supervision, etc., of the Immigration Agent-General.
18. Visiting of plantations by Immigration Agents.
19. Power to summon witness on inquiry.

First Schedule: Form No. 1.

20. Administration of oath on inquiry.

First Schedule: Form No. 2:

Form No. 3.

21. Taking of evidence on inquiry.
22. Power to require production of labour books.
23. Molesting, etc., Officer in execution of duty.
24. Travelling expenses.

Emigration Agencies

25. Appointment and salary of Emigration Agent.
26. Appointment and salaries of Clerks, etc., to Emigration Agent.
27. Accounts and expenses of Emigration Agent.

PART II

FISCAL PROVISIONS

28. Establishment of Immigration Fund.
29. Formation of and charges upon the Immigration Fund.
30. Indenture Fee.
31. Mode of payment of indenture fee.
32. Subsistence of lien notwithstanding sale, etc., of plantation.
33. Personal responsibility of purchaser to the Immigration Fund.
34. Manner of proof on proceeding on promissory note, etc.
35. Application of payments by employer indebted on promissory notes.
36. Preferent lien for debts due to the Immigration Fund.
37. Mode of recovery of debts due to the Immigration Fund.

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ARRIVAL AND ALLOTMENT

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38. Making of application for immigrants.
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39. Application by lessee.
40. Application by mortgagee.
41. Subsistence of application notwithstanding death, etc.
42. Application by Head of Department.
43. Refusal of application.
44. Determination of number of immigrants to be introduced.

Arrival

45. Inspection of ship with immigrants on arrival.
46. Disposal of sick immigrant on board ship.
47. Board and lodging of immigrant on arrival.

Allotment

48. Order of allotment.
49. Allotment for domestic service.
50. Conditions of allotment.
51. Indenture fee payable in respect of immigrant not able-bodied.
52. Mode of indenture.

First Schedule : Form No. 5 :

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53. Detention of immigrant after allotment at the Dépôt.
54. Annual publication of list of ships and of allotment of immigrants.

PART IV

INDENTURE

55. Right of immigrant to enforce previous contract made with him.
56. Case of previous contract made with Indian immigrant.
57. Term of indenture.
58. Special provisions respecting previous contracts.
59. Case of previous contract made with minor immigrant, etc.
60. Exemption of infant immigrant from indenture.

SECTION.

61. Provision as to minor immigrant.
62. Rights of minor, etc., immigrant residing on plantation.
63. Provision as to school teaching of minor immigrants.

PART V

DWELLINGS

64. Information about dwellings to be furnished by employer.
65. Providing of suitable dwelling for indentured immigrant.
66. Assignment and superficial capacity of dwellings.
67. Keeping of Register of dwellings.
First Schedule: Form No. 7.
68. Making of regulations in respect of dwellings.
69. Default of employer in respect of dwelling.
70. Default of indentured immigrant in respect of dwelling, etc.

PART VI

RATIONS

71. Providing of rations for three months after allotment.
First Schedule: Form No. 8.
72. Keeping of Muster-Roll of newly indentured immigrants.
73. Placing of other immigrant on rations.
74. Prohibition of sale and purchase of rations.

PART VII

HOSPITALS

75. Hospital accommodation to be provided for immigrants on plantation.
76. Certifying of hospital.
77. Right of lessee in certified hospital.
78. Withdrawal of certificate of hospital.
79. Making of hospital regulations and dietary.
80. Furniture, etc., of hospital.
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81. Employment of dispenser and assistants for hospital.
82. Duties of dispenser or principal sick nurse.
83. Visits of Government Medical Officer.

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84. Treatment of patients by Government Medical Officer.
85. Responsibility of Government Medical Officer for hospital.
86. Removal of patient to Public Hospital.
87. Requisition by Medical Officer.
88. Appeal against requisition of Medical Officer.
89. Default of employer in respect of hospital arrangements.
90. Default of employer in respect of treatment of sick immigrant.
91. Misconduct of indentured immigrant in respect of hospital.
92. Obligation of hospital regulations on patient other than indentured immigrant.

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94. Assignment of work.
95. Duration of time work and of task work.
96. Limit of task work per diem.
97. Rate of wages for time work.
First Schedule : Form No. 11 : A and B.
98. Rate of wages for task work.
99. Proceedings by immigrant for recovery of wages short-paid.
100. General procedure for recovery of wages.
101. Mode of making estimate of wages, and order thereon.
102. Assault on indentured immigrant.
103. Unlawful withholding of wages.
104. Prohibition of stoppage of wages and of payment in kind.
105. Refusal or neglect of indentured immigrant to amend work improperly performed.
106. Making of agreement for extra in field or in buildings.
107. Payment for extra time work.
108. Service as watchman.

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109. Absence from work, etc.

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110. Excuse of physical incapacity for absence from work, etc.
111. Minor offences by indentured immigrant.

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112. More serious offences by indentured immigrant.

First Schedule: Form No. 15.

113. Keeping of Register of Cases before Magistrate.

First Schedule: Form No. 16.

114. Prohibition of keeping of shop on or near plantation by manager, etc.

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115. Duty of person employing immigrant not under indenture.

116. Duties of manager of plantation on which are employed immigrants not under indenture.

117. Other hirings of free immigrants.

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119. Unlawful absence from plantation.

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120. Right of immigrant to leave of absence after certain amount of work done.

121. Leaving plantation for purpose of making complaint.

First Schedule: Form No. 18.

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123. Default by manager in not preferring charge against deserter.

124. Punishment of deserter.

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125. Loss of original charge for desertion.

126. Keeping of Registers of Absences on Leave and Desertions.

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127. Apprehension of immigrant suspected of being absent without leave.

128. Refusal of immigrant apprehended to give information.

129. Absence without leave from the Dépôt.

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- 130. Employment of indentured immigrant by person not entitled to his services.
- 131. Disposal of indentured immigrant on release from custody.
- 132. Giving of certificate as to indentured immigrant brought in custody to plantation.
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- 133. Reporting of indentured immigrant voluntarily returning to plantation.
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- 135. Reporting of indentured immigrant on release from prison.
- 136. Keeping of Register of Defaulters.
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- 137. Making of entries in the Register of Defaulters.
- 138. Correction of the Register of Defaulters.

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MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, ETC.

- 139. Interpretation of term "immigrant" in Part X.

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- 140. Keeping of Register of Married Immigrants arriving in the Colony.
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- 142. Exemption from fee for registration.
- 143. Keeping of Register of Marriages of Immigrants contracted in the Colony.
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- 144. Marriage of Christian immigrants.
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- 147. Grounds of objection to proposed marriage.
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- 149. Marriage after publication of notice.
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- 150. Marriage after publication of banns.
- 151. Marriage according to religion and personal law.
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- 153. Making of enquiry as to contracting of marriage.

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- 154. Protection of property of woman deserted by her husband.
- 155. Protection of property of man deserted by his wife.
- 156. Division of property of married immigrants.

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- 157. Apprehension and punishment of male immigrant threatening his wife.
- 158. Transfer of immigrant in case of danger from jealousy.
- 159. Proceedings where injury to woman is apprehended.
- 160. Punishment of person enticing away wife of immigrant, etc.
- 161. Copy of proceedings for the Immigration Agent-General.

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- 162. Proceedings for divorce of immigrants.
- 163. Keeping of Register of Divorces.

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- 164. Punishment of person making false entry in register.
- 165. Punishment of person signing false declaration or certificate.
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- 167. Proof of marriage or divorce.
- 168. Use as evidence of entry in register and of certificate.
- 169. Appeal where registration is refused.
- 170. Cancellation of registration.
- 171. Procedure on application to the Chief Justice.
- 172. Right of appeal from Magistrate's order.
- 173. Furnishing of certified copy of entry in register.
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175. Declaring of indenture void in case of death or disability of immigrant within six months after allotment.
176. Computation of commutation money.
177. Commutation by husband or wife.
178. Commutation by mother of minor.
179. Determination of indenture by the Immigration Agent-General on payment of commutation money.
180. Transfer of immigrants.
181. Transfer of immigrant on determination of lease.
182. Transfer of services of immigrant on sale, etc., of plantation.
183. Other provisions as to transfer
184. Permissible removal, temporary transfer, and determination.
185. Determination of indenture for ill-treatment.
186. Computation of duration of indenture.
187. Exclusion of certain periods in computation of term of indenture.
188. Prohibition of other transfers, etc.
189. Recording of transfers and determinations.

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190. Granting of certificate of exemption from labour.
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191. Granting of provisional certificate.
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195. Quitting the Colony without passport.
196. Limitations of right to passport.

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197. Receiving on board ship of immigrant without passport, with intent to carry him out of the Colony.

First Schedule: Form No. 37.

198. Aiding departure of immigrant without passport.
 199. Right of Indian immigrant to return passage.
 200. Granting of return passage to disabled Indian immigrant.
 201. Inspection, etc., of ship with return immigrants.
 202. Transmission of report of inspection to the Governor.

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203. Half-yearly returns of deaths of immigrants in Public Institutions.

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205. Half-yearly returns by employer.

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206. Making of false entry in register, etc., by manager.
 207. Medical returns, etc.
 208. Loss of certificate of exemption from labour, etc.
 209. Use by one immigrant of certificate or pass of another immigrant.
 210. Forgery of certificate of exemption from labour.
 211. Forgery of passport or pass.

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212. Procedure generally.
 213. Power to the Immigration Agent-General to act for immigrant.
 214. Appearance of the Immigration Agent-General.
 215. Appearance of employer.
 216. Admissibility of evidence of defendant.

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- 217. Statement of ownership of property.
- 218. Proof of Indenture List, etc.
- 219. Power for Magistrate to order indentured immigrant before him to be conveyed to hospital.
- 220. Imprisonment of indentured immigrant.
- 221. Admission of immigrant sentenced to imprisonment to bail in certain cases.

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- 222. Certified copy of proceedings before Magistrate.
- 223. Copy of warrant of commitment of immigrant.
- 224. Notification by Magistrate of conviction of indentured immigrant.

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- 225. Notification by Magistrate in case of committal for trial.

First Schedule: Form No. 43.

- 226. Certificate of conviction before Supreme Criminal Court.

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- 227. Mode of dealing with property of deceased indentured immigrant.

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- 228. Protection of the Immigration Agent-General, etc., in relation to property.

- 229. Proceeding by manager on death of indentured immigrant.

- 230. Other provisions relating to property.

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- 231. Appointment of guardian of orphan of immigrant.

- 232. Interference with guardian, etc.

- 233. Keeping of Register of Orphans.

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- 234. Making of regulations for government of festivals.

- 235. Application of regulations.

- 236. Contravention of regulations.

- 237. Prosecution of contravention.

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238. Decision of question as to age of immigrant.

239. Penalty for contravention of the Ordinance not provided for.

Temporary Provisions

240. Completion of existing indentures.

241. Existing Registers, etc.

242. Effect of existing indentures.

243. Case of existing Officers of the Immigration Department.

244. Saving as to existing Medical Districts.

245. Temporary use of existing forms.

246. Continuance of existing regulations, etc.

247. Repeal of enactments.

Second Schedule.

248. Commencement of the Ordinance.

APPENDIX V

MEMORANDUM

MEASURES TO BE CARRIED OUT FOR PREVENTION OF MALARIAL FEVER

IT has been proved over and over again that Malarial Fever is due to a parasite which attacks, and resides in, the red blood corpuscles of man. This parasite, which assumes different forms according to the type of fever, is transmitted from man to man by a mosquito of a certain kind called *Anopheles*.

(2) Scientifically, mosquitoes, of which there are now about 200 known species, belong to the *culicidae* which are divided into several genera, and among these the *Culex* and *Anopheles* are the commonest.

Mosquitoes spring from eggs which are laid everywhere and anywhere, so to speak, but especially in stagnant water. These eggs take about seven days to pass to the chrysalis stage, when it remains as such for about two days and then develops into the fully formed insect.

(3) The cycle of life is thus complete and is similar to that of the butterfly with which we are all familiar. The eggs of the butterfly develop into the well-known caterpillar which feeds on leaves, while the eggs of the mosquito develop into small wriggling worms which are to be found in any vessel where water is kept for some time.

(4) As already stated there are about 200 species of mosquitoes actually known, but the kind to be looked after in connection with Malarial Fever, and which is known as the *Anopheles*, is to be distinguished from the others by the following characters :

- (i) *Anopheles* have a slim, elegant body, small head, long and thick proboscis, wings spotted ; when seated on a wall the axis of body is almost at right angles to the wall.
- (ii) *Culex* have a coarser body, thick thorax and thin proboscis, wings plain ; when seated on a wall the tail hangs downwards in the direction of the wall, *i.e.* parallel to it.

The small worms or larvae are also distinguished from one another by the following characters :

- (i) The *Anopheles* larvae float flat on the surface of water like little logs or sticks, when disturbed they wriggle on the surface with a backward skating movement.
- (ii) The *Culex* larvae hang by their tail to the surface of the water with their head downwards ; when disturbed they wriggle to the bottom of the vessel.

(5) The adult mosquito which may live for months has also the power of hibernating and its favourite haunts for this are damp and dark places such as cellars, garrets, and sheds of all sorts, etc. They feed on fruits, vegetables, birds, animals and man ; but the female only is a blood sucker.

The female, distinguished from the male by the absence of feathery antennae, after a feed, usually rests and sleeps on walls, in dark corners and rank vegetation round about the house, returning to its natural breeding places every few days and flying back again to the house for its food supply.

(6) Hence, therefore, the necessity of having a clean space all round the house ; of having all superficial drains daily cleansed ; all water supplies covered up or emptied at least once a week and the sides and bottom scrubbed ;

and of doing away with the habit of growing ferns under verandahs in platefuls of water which are seldom or never emptied.

(7) Just as flies in a room gather round a rope which is hung up and are attracted by a bowl of soap water, mosquitoes are likewise attracted by certain dark colours more than others. White, light yellow, light green, light red, light blue, are not so attractive as the dark colours ; hence, therefore, the advisability of wearing light coloured cloths, of having the wall papers, lamp shades, etc., of a light tint.

(8) And, as it is also well known that mosquitoes congregate in corners where clothes are hung up, it would be expedient to have a black or dark coloured garment placed in such a position as to attract them, and the powder used for the production of smoke burnt in different corners at the same time so as to destroy the greatest possible number of these pests.

And as malarial fever, as already stated, is a parasitic disease, persons suffering from fever should be isolated as far as possible ; they are not only capable of spreading the disease not only to others but are liable to be reinfected themselves.

(9) We are therefore to avoid being bitten by mosquitoes and to destroy them and their larvae as much as possible.

To attain this end we must carefully search in and around houses, for flower vases, especially when ferns are grown under verandahs in receptacles larger than the pots and full of water, for vessels of all sorts, broken bottles, jars, cisterns, old tins, etc., small puddles, especially rain-water puddles containing green water weeds found along paths and roads, puddles on the surface of roads, hollows in rocks, old wells, all drains, etc. All that is necessary is to empty all such vessels and receptacles, in and around houses, once, or better twice, a week, to fill up all crevices and hollows, and when this is impossible, to keep fishes in the ornamental ponds, and to pour petroleum oil over natural or artificial collections of water once or twice a week ; for we know that the larvae will be destroyed by

these means as the eggs are developed in water and take about a week to become the fully matured insect.

(10) On the other hand, the mature insect may be looked for in the stables, byres, sheds and go-downs of all sorts, and among the rank vegetation and grass about out-houses.

Its ingress into houses during the night may be prevented by having the windows provided with wire gauze netting affixed on frames, or if this expedient cannot be resorted to, mosquito nets may be used. But the important point to attend to is to open all doors and windows and burn either Zanzoline or Keating's powder, coffee, sugar, etc., and while this is going on, to dust vigorously the room and shut all openings immediately after and continue the fumigation for a few minutes more. During the day the punkah or the fan is helpful.

April, 1902.

APPENDIX VI

MAURITIUS

HURRICANE, 1892

THE Crown Agents, in anticipation of the raising of the 3 per cent. Guaranteed Loan for £600,000, made advances at Bank rate for the financing of the Colonial Government, including the shipment of a sum of Rs.1,505,882 to the Colony which was required immediately—and they continued to supply the necessary funds until the raising of the Loan in January, 1893, when it realized an average price of £105 7s. 10d. per cent.

Bank rate at which the advances were made by the Crown Agents averaged $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 1892.

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES, 1898

Owing to the short sugar crop 1897-8 and the high price of Indian Food supplies and the depletion of currency due to shipments of rupees to India in consequence of the high rates prevailing for Mercantile drafts on India, the position of the Banks in Mauritius became critical and it became necessary for the Colonial Government to come to their aid with advances.

Advances were made in Mauritius by the Mauritius Government against various kinds of Security, *e.g.* Dock Warrants, Bills, etc. Such advances being made by bills

drawn by the Government of Mauritius on the National Bank of India, Bombay, which branch was, at the request of the Crown Agents, instructed by the Head Office to meet them.

The securities so obtained locally were held for the Savings Bank, Savings Bank securities in the Crown Agents' hands being transferred to the Currency Commissioners' Account and hypothecated for advances at Bank rate, which were made by the Crown Agents. Upon receipt of telegrams from the Colonial Government that bills had been drawn on the National Bank of India, Bombay, the Crown Agents remitted the sums obtained by these advances by Telegraph Transfer to the credit of the Colonial Government with the National Bank, Bombay. Drafts to the extent of Rs. 2,000,000 were drawn and met in this manner.

On the repayment of the local advances, the Securities were re-transferred to Savings Bank Account and the money so repaid was used in Mauritius for making advances to Planters under Ordinance No. 2 of 1898, which authorized the raising of a Loan of £200,000. The Crown Agents however were able to make arrangements for financing the Colony at Bank rate until the Planters repaid the advances and it never became necessary to issue the Loan—the whole of the expenses connected with such an issue being saved to the Colony.

For these services the Crown Agents received no remuneration.

Bank rate, at which the advances by the Crown Agents were made, averaged $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. in 1898.

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES, 1902

Due to the same causes as in 1898 and met in a somewhat similar manner—the Crown Agents made advances at Bank rate on the security of power given by Loan Ordinances to raise funds. Bills to the extent of Rs. 1,454,000 were drawn on the National Bank of India,

Bombay, and met by remittances made to that Bank by the Crown Agents. The Crown Agents further arranged for the shipment of Rs. 1,000,000 from Calcutta to Mauritius and made the necessary advances to cover these transactions.

These transactions, amounting to Rs. 2,454,000, were met by advances at Bank rate against the power to borrow £200,000 by short dated debentures under Ordinance 43 of 1902 and the money was eventually used for making Loans to Planters.

These Debentures, which bore interest at 4 per cent., were issued by the Crown Agents in 1903—£101,200 being repayable 1st August, 1904, and the balance £98,800 on 1st August, 1905, and although the Loans which had been made to Planters were extended for one year in each case the Debentures were allowed to mature and the Crown Agents were able to finance the Colony at Bank rate until the whole of the Loans were repaid, thus saving the expense of any future issue of Bonds.

The Crown Agents also provided the necessary funds in order to enable the Colonial Government to carry out the provisions of the Mechanical Transport Ordinance, 1903, for the raising of a sum of £110,000 by the issue of 10 year Debentures. The Crown Agents made the necessary advances at Bank rate to cover all sums which were required. All these amounts have now been repaid and the Colonial Government was saved not only the expense of the issue but also being saddled with a debt of £110,000 for 10 years.

Bank rate, at which the advances by the Crown Agents were made, averaged during the period in question $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

APPENDIX VII

MAURITIUS

REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION, 1909

THE Commission was composed of Sir Frank Swettenham, Chairman, Sir Edward O'Malley, and Mr. Drysdale Woodcock.

The circumstances which led to the appointment of the Commission are narrated in Part I. of the Report. It originated in proposals made by the Government of Mauritius that a loan should be raised for various purposes, including the improvement of the machinery of sugar factories, the purchase of land for afforestation, and to provide a fund out of which advances should be made, on good security, to owners of sugar estates for purposes connected with that cultivation. A narrative of similar applications has been recorded in the body of my work, as well as of the circumstances in which loans had been raised to assist the sugar industry in 1898 and 1902. Details of these loans are given in Appendix VI.

On the subject of the proposals made by the Government of Mauritius, I had, at Lord Elgin's request, an official interview with a clerk of the Colonial Office, who explained to me the position, and informed me that a principal reason why the Secretary of State could not see his way to approve them was, that he had been assured that the loans raised in 1898 and 1902 were not really

required, as was shown by the fact that the full amounts authorised were not applied for. This had already been communicated to the Governor in a despatch dated January 23rd, 1908. The official added, with appropriate emphasis and mystery, that they had been informed that even the applications made had only been made at the solicitation of a member of the Council of Government of the colony to please me. I have endeavoured without success to ascertain the authority for this amazing statement. The real reasons why the full authorised amount of the loans was not taken up were fully explained in correspondence published in the colony. I am bound to allude to this phase of the matter, to call attention to the evidence of a witness examined by the Commission, who threw a flood of light on the subject. A condition of all loans to sugar estates has been that prior encumbrancers must stand aside, and give the Government a first claim over the crop and the corpus of the estate. The evidence to which I refer is contained in Part II. of the Report, pp. 536-542. The witness, a mortgage creditor, thought it absurd and unjust that mortgagees who were getting a very high rate of interest, and had a view to the ultimate acquisition of an estate, by a legal process corresponding to foreclosure, as a profitable investment, should be asked to stand aside to enable the estate to obtain the relief of a loan from Government at a moderate rate of interest. An excellent homily on patriotism was preached to the witness by a member of the Commission, who thought it inconceivable that a good Mauritian's private interest "would weigh for a moment against the interests of the colony." "I beg your pardon," replied the witness, and he declared that he was not speaking only for himself but on behalf of many other mortgage creditors. Then the Chairman came to the rescue.

"Q. 17,028. Yes, but leaving out of account the question of the good Mauritian ; it is not everybody who can afford to be a philanthropist even for the sake of his country—I understand that you are not in favour of the

Government making any loan to the planters, because you think if the Government lent money at a low rate of interest it would be a hardship upon other people who have already invested their money at a high rate of interest?—Yes.

“17,029. You think so?—Yes, I think so.”

After hearing a mass of evidence on the question which was the immediate reason of the appointment of the Commission—whether the Government and the public bodies of Mauritius were justified in their application for authority to raise a public loan, the Commissioners came to the conclusion that they were justified. The evidence knocked the bottom out of the representation made by a nameless informer who misled the Colonial Office into believing that the planters of the colony, in the peril of their fortunes, borrowed money they did not require to please me. It was, I know, the fact that a member of the Council of Government and others did urge mortgage creditors to stand aside and allow the colony to have the full advantage of the facilities offered by the loans authorised on my recommendation. To a perversion of this fact was presumably due the suggestion by which the Colonial Office was misled.

As regards the loan raised in 1898 and that authorised in 1902, the Commissioners report that they have been redeemed in full. As regards a previous loan raised in 1892, after the disastrous hurricane of that year, out of which long-term advances were made, they report that it does not appear likely that there will be any serious loss on these transactions, and they point out that against the possible contingency there must be set off that “as a matter of account the Government have gained a considerable sum by loan transactions,” that is, by making advances out of the loan at a rate slightly higher than the rate of interest paid on the loan. The details of these loans are set out in Appendix VI. of this work.

As regards further loans, they recommend the raising of loans to the amount of about £400,000, of which

about £285,000 is to be expended on railways, and £115,000 in making advances to planters for the improvement of cultivation. As regards the loan on railway account, the report states that it is necessary because for many years everything connected with the railways has been starved except the personnel. The facts are these.

Towards the close of the year 1899 the General Manager of Railways called attention to the necessity for large expenditure on renewal of rolling stock, and in a minute addressed to the Council of Government, on November 21st, I recommended that there should be created a fund to be called the Railway Stock Renewal Fund. I proposed that a sum of Rs.100,000 should be charged to the revenue of the current and following years and that the fund should be in future fortified by such annual instalments as might be found necessary for the renewal of rolling stock. I pointed out, at the same time, that it was essential that sums voted in the annual estimate for rolling stock but not expended within the financial year should be carried to a suspense account and should not lapse to the Treasury. These proposals were agreed to by the Finance Committee of the Council, and submitted for approval to the Secretary of State by my despatch of December 5th, supported by a telegraphic despatch on December 27th. Unfortunately, I was informed by a despatch of the Secretary of State dated January 23rd, 1900, that my proposals were thought neither necessary nor desirable. But there was no starving. In 1902 I sent to the Colonial Office a statement showing that between 1898 and 1902 a sum of over two and a quarter millions of rupees had been spent on rolling stock and plant, permanent way and rails, and sidings. Had this policy been continued and my proposals accepted there would have been no need for the loan now recommended.

The proposed loan to planters stands in the same position. I have in the body of my work referred to a despatch of January 14th, 1898, in which I strenuously

supported a resolution of the Council of Government asking that the colony might be permitted to raise a loan of £500,000, of which £400,000 was to be appropriated to the purposes of improving the cultivation and manufacture of sugar by improved machinery and other purposes. The measure was urged again and again, in a series of despatches, but without success. One of the witnesses examined by the Commission drew the reasonable inference that, if at least the principle of the measure had been approved and some measure of assistance afforded, the financial difficulties that led to the appointment of the Commission would have been averted.

To assist the small planters, the Commission have further, in recognition of the fact that the economic salvation of the colony depends on cheap money, recommended the introduction of a system of co-operative credit banks. Whether such a system can be carried on without a Government guarantee, which will imply Government responsibility and Government control, is doubtful. But the admission of the principle underlying the recommendation is valuable. I have, in a chapter of my work on the fiscal systems of the Crown colonies (vol. ii. p. 310), referred to this subject and to a system which I endeavoured, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to establish in the West Indies. It may still be worth consideration.

On the general question of the policy of loans to planters, adopted in the specific cases of the loans of 1892, 1898 and 1902, the Commission report: "It will be seen from the above that there is much to be said in favour of lending a limited sum of money, at a moderate rate of interest, to responsible persons, owners of valuable estates in Mauritius. The history of the place, over a long term of years, shows that the sugar planters have recovered from a succession of severe trials—periodical hurricanes and droughts, cattle disease, and various epidemics which have attacked the labour force. Added to these unexpected disasters there have been periods of low prices of

sugar and high prices of rice, which have greatly reduced the planters' profits. In spite of all these things, and the fact that a number of factories have been closed, the sugar industry is to-day on a sounder basis, as regards cultivation and milling, than it has ever been, and the last season's crop was the best on record."

In dealing with the recommendations of the Report under other heads, I shall limit my observations to questions of primary importance. To health I assign the first place, and with this question I have dealt so largely in my work that I will confine myself to one or two general propositions. The evidence suggests that the Commission estimate the value of life and health by a very different standard from that adopted by the community. The following evidence in the examination of Mr. H. Leclézio, a member of the Executive Council, by the Chairman is illuminating.

"Q. 7305. Will you tell me what is the death-rate in the whole of Mauritius, and the death-rate in Port Louis? —I know it is a very large death-rate, more than 30 or 34 per 1,000.

"7306. Would you be surprised if I were to tell you that in a much larger place than this it is over 50?—It is a very sad state of things if it is so in larger places.

"7307. But nobody is alarmed by it at all?—That depends on the idiosyncrasy of the people who live there.

"7308. I remember living at a place where it was between 40 and 55, and nobody expressed any alarm at all? —I am only speaking of Mauritius. I say that from a humane point of view, if we could save half of those deaths that would be a great achievement."

A comparison of this evidence with the evidence of the Chairman when he was himself examined by Lord Sander-son's Committee on Emigration from India throws clearer light on his views. I have dealt with this in the body of my work in a chapter on Health (vol. i. p. 507). This difference of opinion is illustrated in the evidence of the same witness and others on the subject of the quarantine

stations. As I have pointed out in the body of my work, Mauritius has suffered from the introduction of diseases of men and animals to a degree which with reason makes the community extremely sensitive. The reasons of this sensitiveness were insisted on by many witnesses. Sir William Newton's evidence is instructive.

"3673. . . . I am old enough, unfortunately, to remember two epidemics of cholera, the epidemic of 1854 and the epidemic of 1856, and it was really frightful. We have been spared, up to the present moment, since that time.

"3674. (*Chairman*) I imagine that the administration is responsible, is it not, for the affairs of the Colony?—No doubt.

"3675. And it is not, therefore, always on the sentiment of the largest number of people that action is taken?—Perhaps it should not be so, but, as a fact, it is so; sentiment is one of those things that you must take into account, it seems to me, in the administration of human affairs."

Further evidence on the subject of the quarantine station at Flat Island is equally instructive. The Chairman's eagerness to secure reduction of expenditure by abolishing this station was met by the Acting Director of the Medical and Health Department in a letter he wrote to the Commission on the subject of Flat Island.

"In this connection I may draw attention to the fact that the establishment is not maintained exclusively as a quarantine station, but that it is also an international signal station and bears a lighthouse. That it has only cost the Health Department a little over Rs. 5,000 a year during the last three years, a small sum compared with the services it may still render the Colony, and will probably cost less in the future. That it is the safer of our two quarantine stations for cholera and yellow fever, especially in view of the danger to which this Colony will be exposed should India be invaded by the latter disease after the opening of the Panama Canal, as apprehended by Sir Patrick Manson. That Sir Rubert Boyce in his report on

Yellow Fever in British Honduras (1906) recommends the maintenance of a station of this nature, *even if it were hardly ever to be used*, in countries threatened with an invasion of yellow fever."

This point is of importance because a member of the Commission, while Sir William Newton was under examination (Q. 3668), urged that, if necessary, "it would be a very short matter and a simple matter at once to reinstate Flat Island as a quarantine station." If the Commission had visited the island, or made inquiry, they would have ascertained that it would not be a short matter. It would impose a delay on the infected vessel which must in any case be of serious consequence, and during the hurricane season might well prove disastrous. The Commissioners sum up their conclusions by recommending that the Acting Director, who gave the advice, should be removed from the colony and his office filled by a medical man from outside. In view of this condemnation of the medical profession of Mauritius, I am glad to refer to the services rendered by them recorded in the thirteenth chapter of my work, and especially to the testimony borne to their scientific attainments and practical intelligence by Major Ronald Ross.

As will be seen from the whole tenor of my work, I place the subject of education next in importance to that of health, and that view has dominated the Government of Mauritius from the earliest days of British occupation. The central force of the system has been the Royal College. A picture, the property of the colony, painted to commemorate the services of the first Governor, Sir Robert Farquhar, represents him with a scroll in his hand, bearing the words "Royal College," and the policy of every succeeding Governor has been to make it an agency to promote two purposes; the conciliation of prejudices of class and race and creed, and the preparation of a reconciled community to take a share in public affairs in the widest range of the term. That, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, it has served these ends, is abundantly shown in the evidence taken by the Commission.

The evidence of Mr. Sauzier, a representative of one of the old families who, in the words of King George, "maintain the charming characteristics of old France," a member of the Council of Government, and honoured by the distinction of K.C., is instructive.

"Q. 11,319. (*Chairman*) Now, what do you think about the Royal College?—I am very happy that this question has been put to me, because I must confess that I was, as a father of a family, rather astonished at the recommendations made by the Director of Public Instruction the other day concerning the abolition of the schools of the Royal College. I do not hesitate to say that it would be a very great mistake if these schools were to be abolished, because I consider that they are the best schools here, and the only ones where our boys can be properly educated. There are two points which I beg leave to submit to your consideration, for I believe they are very important. If you abolish the college schools there will only remain what we call here the affiliated schools. Well, I think it is known to all of us that there are many affiliated schools, and, unfortunately, the best, where boys of all classes are not admitted, the Indian boys are absolutely excluded, and, I am sorry to say, in many schools, even boys belonging to the coloured population. Now, I believe the Royal College is one of the places, perhaps the only place, where there exists real social equality between boys. All those boys work side by side; they become friends whatever may be the population to which they belong; besides, it is the only school where our boys are really taught to forget and to despise those social inequalities to which I have just called your attention, and which for a long time have been the cause of many troubles. I think, if those schools were suppressed, it would be a very, very great mistake on the part of the Government. I therefore say that, speaking from experience, having three boys at the Royal College, I have always been extremely satisfied with the education and with the progress my boys have made at the Royal

College, I for one, would ask for the maintenance of the schools."

Not less instructive is the evidence of Mr. H. Leclézio, C.M.G., also a representative of an old French family, a member of the Executive Council and of the Council of Government in speaking of the scholarships established to enable students of the College to prosecute their studies in England.

"Q. 7267. (*Chairman*) Are you in favour of the scholarships—the Royal College scholarships?—They are most necessary in my opinion. Those scholarships have prevented, I may say—I will not go to the length of saying bloodshed—but these scholarships have put the two populations—the coloured population and the white population of Mauritius—on the same footing. The coloured population had grievances before that, but they have not the right to have any since then, because they are placed on an even footing. Those lads of the coloured population, who are intelligent, can earn scholarships just like any of the whites.

"Q. 7268. But are not those scholarships confined to boys of the Royal College?—They are. If they were not, then there would be instantly a division; there would be schools—secondary schools—which would be created by other persons, and the moment those schools could enjoy the benefit of the scholarships there would be an immediate division in the population. One part of the population would go one way, and the other part would go the other way."

"Q. 7276. I understand you to say that it was the creation of the scholarships which made the peace?—Which keep the peace.

"Q. 7277. (*Mr. Woodcock*) And removed all the coloured grievances? Yes, and removed their grievances.

"Q. 7278. (*Chairman*) But it is such a very long time ago?—I think, if you tried it now the result would be the same.

"Q. 7279. But suppose you had no scholarships, then there would be no jealousy?—That would not be fair to the poorer classes of the population. Generally, the white people can afford to send their boys to Europe, while it is not the rule with the coloured population; in fact they are rather poor.

"Q. 7280. You do not suggest that that is unfair?—Unfair to whom?

"Q. 7281. Do you say it is unfair to the coloured population that they should not be able to send their children to Europe to be educated?—Yes.

"Q. 7282. In what sense is it unfair?—In the sense that they cannot afford to send their boys to Europe to be educated there to get a profession.

"Q. 7283. But why is that unfair?—Because they have enjoyed the privilege up to now. Why should the privilege be stopped now? They have enjoyed it for so long.

"Q. 7284. That is quite a different thing. That would not make it fair or unfair. The suggestion that it is unfair that any section of the population should not be able to send its children to Europe to be educated I do not follow?—That is my opinion."

Mr. Sauzier and Mr. Leclézio are strongly supported by corroboratory evidence.

On the question of how far the Royal College, with its corollary scholarships, has served its purpose as an agency to prepare the colonists to take a share in public affairs, it might be sufficient to point out that, with a few exceptions, the leaders of the community who were called as witnesses, including the Chief Judge, members of the Executive Council and the Council of Government, of the Civil Service and of the learned professions, had been educated at the Royal College. I will only supplement this testimony by pointing out that the acting Rector of the College referred in his evidence (p. 524) to a list of the laureates, as the scholars are called, published in the Blue Book, giving their subsequent careers. If the Commission

had included this list among the mass of documentary evidence attached to their report, it would have shown that their careers have not been limited to Mauritius, but that they have been and are represented among holders of high office in other colonies, and in the civil service of India.

However, the Commission in their report have condemned the system of the Royal College and its scholarships, root and branch, as productive of "an expenditure out of all proportion to the means of the colony."

I pass on to the subject of primary education, with regard to which the Commission record their conviction in favour of a return to "the system of educational expenditure which was in force during the period antecedent to Sir C. Bruce's new Education Code (1902)." The Education Code (1902) was part of a system having for its motive the co-ordination of the colony's educational resources under a responsible authority styled the Director of Public Instruction. The system was based on the educational system of Ceylon, to which the Chairman referred more than once, as appears from the evidence, as exhibiting a striking contrast of superiority when compared with the Mauritius system. *Mutatis mutandis*, they are identical systems, and as the chapters of my work on education, composed and printed long before the report of the Mauritius Commission was published, will show, I am almost as much responsible for the establishment of the system in one colony as in the other. The introduction of the system into Mauritius was not due to my initiative. One of the first proposals introduced in the Council of Government after the reform of its constitution was a proposal made by an elected member in favour of it. At a later period it was strongly urged by the Colonial Office, but rejected by the Council, shortly before my return to the colony as Governor in 1907. I am glad of an opportunity to add to what has been said in the body of my work on the subject a few observations on the reasons which led to its establishment.

Not long after my return, after inquiry and investigation, in July, 1898, I addressed a minute to the Council of Government in which I compared the educational position of Mauritius with that of Ceylon, insisting particularly on the enormous cost of the Mauritius system in comparison with that of Ceylon. After waiting a year, in order that the Council and the educational agencies might have time to review and reconsider the proposal they had rejected, I introduced the Education Ordinance of 1899. My reasons were explained in a speech on the second reading of the bill, and I quote an extract from the official report, in the hope that before his Majesty's Government decide to destroy the system they may at least consider whether it will be to the interest of the colony to revert to the system of which the Commission express their approval.

"H.E. the Governor :

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"I believe that in the Council of Education or in the Schools Committee, soon after I came to the colony, a proposal was made by one of the Inspectors of Schools to establish a library for school children.—The hon. member for Plaines Wilhelms will tell me if I am mistaken : but I understand that the Roman Catholic Inspector of Schools urged that it was of no use to establish a library for government or grant-in-aid school children, inasmuch as there were no school children who could read, or practically none. Now is that a condition of things that ought to exist in any part of this colony, or, in fact, in any part of her Majesty's dominions ?

"M. Guibert : That was flatly denied by the Superintendent and the other Inspector of Schools.

"H.E. the Governor : I feel sure that if the hon. member will read the last two reports of the Roman Catholic Inspector of Schools he will see that the actual facts appear to bear out his statement. The Roman Catholic Inspector has pointed out that children actually waste years in school before they pass the first standard :

and you can easily see by the figures that many children of the Government or of the grant-in-aid schools do not go beyond the first standard, while very few get beyond the third. Now I maintain that the money that has been spent on the education of a child who does not reach the first standard is absolutely wasted,—and I will go further, and I will say that to all intents and purposes the money devoted towards the education of a child who leaves school without having passed the third standard is almost entirely wasted. Those children are absolutely without that knowledge which fits them for the ordinary duties and business of life.

“How do we propose to remedy it? There is only one way of remedying it, and that is by placing the schools in charge of trained teachers as they are all over the civilised world. Schools are placed in the hands of trained teachers for this reason, that in the hands of a trained teacher a child can learn in six months what he may not learn in six years in a school under a teacher who has had no training at all. That is proved by the facts.— . . . Our object is that the children should learn what is sufficient for the business of life in the shortest possible time. It has been proved to demonstration all over Europe that children can learn in a few months under trained teachers what it takes them years to learn under untrained teachers.

“The hon. member for Plaines Wilhelms said a good deal about the financial question. He said that different schemes had been proposed with reference to the education question and that they had been rejected because there was no money. But why is there no money? There is no money for the reason that you are wasting nearly half-a-million of rupees a year in a way which produces little result. I know there is some objection to my referring to my own experience in Ceylon; but I may say that shortly before I went there educational matters were managed by a Board just as they are here and there were great complaints; there were the same complaints made that are made here; and the government then decided,

much against the wish of the board, to have a Director of Public Instruction, and the result has been that all the managers who were on the board became perfectly satisfied with the new system, and they now support the Government in every possible way in carrying it out.

“The system which we propose here is not a system which has only been found to work advantageously in Ceylon. It is a system in work all over India; in every province of India there is a Director of Public Instruction. The system has answered and worked admirably there, and it will work admirably here.—Only, here, in order to meet the wishes of the Council, we strengthen as I hope the position of the Director of Public Instruction by an advisory Board. Otherwise the system is the same as that which obtains in almost every part of the British Empire.

“In regard to the financial question, the hon. member has pointed out that it is proposed to raise the pay of the teachers, and that will require money. But we shall have that money saved in order to apply it more equitably. Let me for instance give an illustration. A little time ago, an application was made to the Government in reference to the grant to a school which had not the requisite attendance. The matter came before the Governor in Executive, and we decided to ask the Superintendent of Schools whether, if that school were closed, the people in the neighbourhood would be deprived of the means of education. We therefore asked him to state how many schools there were within a radius of 1000 yards. He told us there were fourteen. If you have two or three schools instead of fourteen it is perfectly clear that you can give the head teacher and the staff a sufficient salary to secure able and trained teachers. That is how money is to be saved, and I know it by my own experience. When I went to Ceylon, the expenditure of the Department of Public Instruction was about 500,000 rupees. All the educational advantages explained in my Minute to the Council are now secured for about 700,000 rupees.”

The system proposed was accepted by both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Bishops, and the second reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 17 to 7, the majority including 6 unofficial members.

I call attention to the fact that the system of which the Commissioners express their approval included no provision for the training of school teachers.

The Code of 1902 to which the Commissioners object, is, as I have said, a corollary of the Ordinance. In accordance with the method adopted throughout by the Commission of giving witnesses a friendly lead, this Code was from the first alluded to as 'Sir Charles Bruce's expensive system.' In justification of the Code, and at the same time in proof that I actively discouraged excess of expenditure, I submit the following extract from a despatch to the Secretary of State and his reply.

17th November, 1902.

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"The scope of these Codes is distinctly stated in Articles 10 and 11 of the Education Ordinance, and you will see that, collectively, they include all that is necessary to build up a complete system of education reaching from the elementary school to the highest range of our educational possibilities, and linked, through the agency of the Royal College, to the Universities and Colleges of professional education in England.

"The Ordinance provides that Code A shall deal with the following subjects:—

i. The administration and management of the Royal College.

ii. The association of colleges or schools of secondary and superior instruction with the Royal College by affiliation or otherwise, and the payment of result grants-in-aid thereto.

iii. A system of instruction in technical, agricultural and commercial education, and the programme and schedule of studies therein.

iv. The Higher Education of Girls, and the programme and schedule of studies thereof, and the payment of result grants-in-aid thereof.

v. The award and tenure of scholarships and exhibitions, subject to the provisions of this Ordinance so far as concerns the English Scholarships.

vi. The said Committee shall fix every year the curriculum of studies for the Royal College and other Government educational institutions.

“Although all these subjects have not yet been brought within the four corners of a single Code, they have all been dealt with, as I shall concisely show.

“As regards the administration and management of the Royal College, I transmit a copy of the Rules and Regulations for the year 1901. A slight modification of Article 13 of the Regulations has since been made by an addition of which I annex a copy. These Regulations deal at the same time with paragraph ii. of Articles 10, under the head ‘Associated Schools,’ page 13.

“As regards paragraph iii., I annex copies of the Regulations for Government Training Schools. Similar Regulations for Grant-in-aid Training Schools have been drafted and are under consideration. I annex also copies of Regulations for the establishment of systems of Engineering Apprenticeships and Horticultural Apprenticeships. Further Regulations for the encouragement of agricultural studies will be prepared when I receive a reply to my despatch No. 340 of 10th September, 1902, in which I requested you to be good enough to obtain the services for the colony of a competent professor of Agricultural Chemistry.

“As regards paragraph iv., I annex copies of the Regulations and Schedule of studies for the Higher Education of Girls.

“The award and tenure of the English Scholarships have been dealt with by Ordinance No. 20 of 1902, copies of which were transmitted to you by my despatch No. 335

of 7th September. The Regulations of the Royal College, Articles 27 and 28, will be amended to meet the provisions of this Ordinance.

"I annex a copy of the curriculum of studies fixed by the Committee under Article 10 of the Ordinance.

"It is with much satisfaction that I am at last able to transmit to you a copy of Code B which deals with all the subjects included within the powers to draft Regulations granted to the Committee of Primary Instruction by Article 11 of the Education Ordinance.

"These Regulations fall under the provisions of Article 29 of the Interpretation and Common Form Ordinance No. 8 of 1898, and when they were laid on the table of the Council of Government notice was given of a great number of amendments to be proposed by unofficial members. All the more important amendments involved an increase of expenditure and these I felt compelled to rule out of order for the reasons stated in a Minute I addressed to the Council of which I annex a copy, together with a copy of a report on the proposed amendments prepared by Mr. Standley, Secretary to the Committee of Primary Instruction.

"I have etc."

The reply of the Secretary of State was as follows :

8th January, 1903.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 422 of the 17th of November last, and to request that you will convey to all those concerned in the work of reorganising the educational system of Mauritius an expression of my appreciation of the care and thoroughness with which this important task has been performed.

"I have etc.,

ONSLow."

I will only add that, in my opinion, the proposal of the Commission, to combine the offices of Director and Rector of the Royal College, would be equally fatal to the Royal College and to the whole range of secondary and primary education. It would hardly be more absurd to propose that the principals of colleges and public schools in the United Kingdom should be appointed Secretaries of the Board of Education.

Such is in brief the system which the Commission seek to destroy.

The spirit in which they have dealt with the question of education, in all its bearings, is perfectly consistent with the spirit in which they have dealt with the question of health. This was curiously illustrated during the examination of Mr. Guibert, K.C. The Commissioners, in their eagerness to make economy the basal principle of British administration in the colony, showed a desire to substitute corporal punishment as an economical administrative agency, and in particular to introduce it at the Royal College. Mr. Guibert's evidence on this point may be compared with Sir William Newton's opinion that sentiment has to be taken into account in the administration of human affairs.

"Q. 8735. (*Chairman*) Are you in favour of corporal punishment for boys?—No, I am not; I am dead against it.

"Q. 8736. If the masters at the Royal College had authority to give corporal punishment, do you think they would exercise it?—That would not work at all; it is very much against the feelings and the ideas of the community."

In reply to the Chairman's suggestion that the explanation of the opposition to corporal punishment was to be found in a dishonourable motive, Mr. Guibert declared that "the thing was so much against the ideas and feelings of the community that he did not look upon it as within the range of practical politics," and the Chairman resumed:

“Q. 8740. Is it a very peculiar community, then?—No, I think the French have the same ideas; it is the English, perhaps, who are a little peculiar on that point.

“Q. 8741. But I have suggested to you an explanation why it should not work here?—I think that is not the right explanation. The explanation is that nobody will have it.”

I may here conveniently point out that the views of the Commission on the use of corporal punishment are in direct antagonism to the views of the Colonial Office expressed on many occasions and more particularly to the instructions conveyed to the colonies in a circular despatch by Mr. Chamberlain so recently as May 25th, 1897. The despatch referred particularly to prison discipline, but the principles, as indicated in the opening paragraphs, are of general application:

“The question of flogging, as a punishment for crime and more especially as a punishment for prison offences, has been a fruitful subject of discussion and correspondence in this country and in the colonies, but my attention has been somewhat specially drawn to the matter by observing that the punishment is much more freely resorted to in the Crown colonies than in the United Kingdom, and that there has been in some instances perhaps a tendency rather to widen than to contract the scope of its application.”

In the fifth paragraph, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out “that if flogging became the rule and not the exception, there is apt to grow up a perverted public opinion satisfied with keeping order by the lash, as being apparently an effective and inexpensive method of enforcing discipline.”

I pass from the agencies of British administration, in building a superstructure of civilisation on the foundation of a healthy and educated community, to the agencies for the protection of life and liberty. The Commission have recommended a reduction in the number of judges. I do not propose to discuss this question. The reasons for the present number are very fully presented, a main reason

being that, as civil cases are not tried before a jury, the community deprecate such cases being disposed of by a single judge, who, if appointed from outside, must, for a time at least, be a stranger to the laws, languages, and usages of a most complex society. I merely call attention to a question that arose in the examination of one of the witnesses.

A witness had stated that a memorial in favour of the appointment of a fourth judge was addressed to the Governor, Sir Arthur Phayre, and by him laid before the Council.

"11,364. (*Sir Edward O'Malley*) May I ask how did it come to be laid before the Council?—I cannot say; I suppose that the petition was addressed to the Governor, who referred it to a committee which had been appointed by the Council of Government.

"11,365. What had they got to do with it?—I cannot say; it was before my time.

"11,366. How would a committee of Council have anything to do with it?—This is all I have been able to find. I cannot say more.

"11,367. (*Mr. Woodcock*) It is from a constitutional point of view?—I do not know; very likely the petition was sent to the Governor in Council.

"11,368. The Executive Council?—Or perhaps to the Law Committee which is appointed by the Council of Government.

"11,369. (*Sir Edward O'Malley*) But what had they got to do with it; they might have referred it to the Agricultural Chamber?—No doubt, if they had thought it proper to do so, but, I repeat, I cannot tell you more; I was not a member of Council at that time."

The only comment I have to make is to ask, in what colony an office of judge can be created without obtaining the sanction of the legislature to the necessary expenditure?

I pass to a principal agency in the protection of life and property—the police. At the time the Commission was sitting many complaints were being made in the

United Kingdom and in India against the police force, and it was natural that the police in Mauritius should be the subject of complaint. On July 3rd last, Sir John Rees in a letter published in *The Times* speaking of charges recently brought against the Indian police made some observations which are equally applicable to the Crown colonies. He said :—"The real fault of the Indian police in the eyes of this gentleman is that in the proper performance of their duty they put his friends in prison." And, after declaring that the Indian police "are a body of men thoroughly representative of the people of India and possessed of their faults and of their many and far greater virtues," he proceeded : "There is no country in Europe, if the absurd comparison of India with Europe be, for the moment and to suit the anti-British agitator, allowed to hold—there is no country in Europe in which a black pamphlet of police errors might not for a purpose, and even with many accurate details, be compiled."

In 1897 similar complaints were made and a commission of inquiry was appointed. It was followed by the appointment of Captain de Wilton, an officer of the Indian staff-corps, to be Inspector-General of Police, and to undertake the reorganisation of the force, having in view the very large preponderance of the Indian element in the community, and the fact that English police are admittedly helpless in dealing with an Indian community. I presume that the system established by Captain de Wilton was approved by the Colonial Office, as the consequence of his work in Mauritius was his promotion to a similar office in Ceylon.

The Commission now recommend a return to the system deliberately abandoned a good many years ago, and the appointment of an Inspector-General and a large staff of English inspectors and constables. They support their recommendation by the example of the neighbouring French island of Réunion, where the police force is officered by 70 to 80 French gendarmes. The analogy is very misleading. The créole population in Réunion is entirely

French-speaking, and the comparatively small Asiatic community has adopted very largely a French *patois*. In Mauritius, the languages of general use are French, French *patois*, and a variety of Indian dialects, all equally as Greek to the English inspector and constable. That is why the system it is now proposed to reintroduce was abandoned. It is a proposal of great danger, and, as seems perfectly clear from the explanations offered by the Commissioners, is likely to lead to considerable increase of expenditure.

Another proposal of the Commission is to abolish the office of Storekeeper-General. In the year 1874 Sir Penrose Julyan, Senior Crown Agent for the Colonies, was sent to Mauritius to inquire into the question of reduction of expenditure in the establishments of the colony. He made an exhaustive report, in which he submitted that a general permanent reduction could only be found by reducing the scale of salaries and emoluments required to man the establishments with English officials, and the corollary proposition that the first concern of Government must be to educate the community to a capacity to replace the English officials. Among the measures most strongly recommended in order to effect saving in the establishment was the creation of the office of Storekeeper-General. He showed that the result of leaving each department to provide its own stores was a reckless waste, not arising necessarily from the default of individuals, but because the system had all the inherent defects, a recognition of which has led to the general acceptance of the advantages of co-operative supply. Sir Penrose Julyan's visit was followed by the appointment of Sir Arthur Phayre to be Governor of Mauritius. He adopted with enthusiasm the general proposition submitted by Sir Penrose Julyan, and the specific proposal to create the office of Storekeeper-General. I may mention incidentally that I was at the time Rector of the Royal College, and Sir Arthur Phayre found my views on the general proposition so entirely in accord with his

own that he did me the great honour of offering me the acting appointment of Colonial Secretary when a temporary vacancy in the office was expected. The proposal fell through, but Sir Arthur Phayre reported it to the Colonial Office, and to this recognition of my services I owe in a large measure my promotion to the appointment of Director of Public Instruction in Ceylon.

It was not unnatural that, when after many years I returned to Mauritius as Governor, I should make it my concern to carry out the policy in which I had so heartily concurred with Sir Arthur Phayre. The result was the educational system I established, absolutely in accordance with his views, and the reorganisation of the department of Storekeeper-General. I appointed a Committee of Inquiry and placed myself in communication with the Government of Ceylon, who gave me the fullest information as to the methods of the Storekeeper-General's department in that colony. The result was a reorganisation based on the Ceylon system, but adapted to the circumstances of Mauritius in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee. The Committee, in the course of their inquiry, met with the same resistance on the part of some heads of department that had opposed and even exasperated Sir Arthur Phayre. As the Committee reported, they irked that control by the Storekeeper-General's department, which was the reason of its establishment.

In considering this recommendation a reference to an episode during the examination of Sir William Newton is instructive :

“Q. 3679. (*Chairman*) Do you know anything about the establishment of the Storekeeper-General?—I will tell you what I know. I am not aware if you have any knowledge of a report that was made by a special commissioner who was sent to Mauritius in order to inquire into the question whether any savings could be made in the establishments. It is the report of Sir Penrose Julyan. Have you got it?

"Q. 3680. (*Mr. Woodcock*) It was some few years ago, was it not?—Yes, in 1874.

"Q. 3681. A lot of water has run under the bridges since then?—A great deal ; and many years have passed over my head since then, I am sorry to say.

"Q. 3682. (*Chairman*) I am asking you whether, having regard to the present circumstances of the colony, do you think it is impossible to make any savings in the department of the Storekeeper-General?—Savings in the department—that is possible, judging, of course, from the general experience that I have of the matter ; but, as regards recommending its total suppression, I would not go so far as that, especially in view of what was said by Sir Penrose Julyan in his report.

"Q. 3683. I am not suggesting the suppression of the department, I am asking whether you do not think it would be possible to make savings?—Yes, it would be possible to make some savings."

Notwithstanding the Chairman's statement, the Commission recommend the abolition of the Storekeeper-General's department on the ground that the heads of the principal departments, such as the Railway Department, the Public Works Department, the Medical Department and the Harbour Department, "are of opinion that the work which the Storekeeper-General at present performs could be more simply and efficiently performed by their own departments" (*Report*, para. 245, 246). The plea that the department of the Storekeeper-General must be abolished because the public officials whom it was established to control find that control irksome and can do without it is too thin. The recommendation must be considered in connection with the general spirit and tenor of their report, which seeks to substitute for the control of the Storekeeper-General's department the appointment of non-Mauritians to supersede Mauritian heads of departments. It is a general condemnation of the community in the same spirit that dictated the substitution of a non-Mauritian for a Mauritian as Head

of the Medical and Health Department, a spirit in direct negation of Sir Penrose Julyan's proposition that the only sure foundation of economy was to be found in educating the community to a capacity for employment in the principal offices of government. In a chapter on Local Government, I have shown that this principle has been consistently approved by the Colonial Office, subject to the reservation that the Secretary of State will give no undertaking that persons who are not natives of Mauritius will not be appointed to any post in the colony when after careful consideration he considers that such appointments are necessary or desirable in the interests of the public service. At the same time this reservation has been accompanied by an assurance that "he will, of course, always be ready to give full consideration to the claims of local candidates."

The recommendations of the Commission are made in a very different spirit. They recommend directly or indirectly the exclusion of Mauritians from nearly all the highest posts of the civil service and logically enough an increase in the emoluments of some of these posts. The present salary of the Chief Judge is Rs. 13,500. They recommend that the holder of the post, a Mauritian, should retire on pension, and be succeeded by an officer chosen from outside Mauritius with a salary of Rs. 18,000. They recommend that the salary of the Colonial Secretary, a post recently filled from outside Mauritius, should be raised from Rs. 13,500 to at least Rs. 15,000. The offices of Receiver-General and Auditor-General, the next in rank and emolument, are already filled from outside Mauritius. These three officers, with the Officer Commanding the troops and the Procureur-General, complete the number of official members of the Executive Council, and the Commission recommend the exclusion from the Council of the present Mauritian unofficial members and of all such members in future. The office next in rank and emolument is that of Collector of Customs; the Commission recommend that the present holder, a Mauritian, be at

once retired and that the office be amalgamated with that of the Harbour Master. In view of the position of Mauritius as a storm centre in the Indian Ocean, it is obvious that the amalgamated offices must be given to a naval officer, so that another high office is placed out of the reach of the Mauritian community. In order to carry out the views of the Commission in respect of the administration of the Health Department and Quarantine regulations, it is recommended that the present acting head of the department be removed and the appointment given to an officer from outside, who will not give in to the sentiment of the community in favour of rigorous measures of protection from the introduction of diseases of men and animals. Nor are the recommendations of the Commission in this respect limited to heads of departments. In the judicial department they recommend the amalgamation of the district and stipendiary magistracies. The question of the control of the Indian Government over such an amalgamation has been dealt with in my chapter on Local Government, and it is more than probable that the result will be to introduce holders of the amalgamated offices from outside. The police department has already been dealt with. It is proposed to retire the present holder of the office of Inspector-General and replace him by an officer from outside, together with a small army of English inspectors and constables.

Coincidentally with the exclusion of Mauritians from responsible office in the Civil Service, it is proposed to abolish the advisory bodies which have been established to assist different branches of the Government service. The Commission declare that "this practice is peculiar to Mauritius and seems to be a survival of times when the Government staff was small and had to depend upon voluntary assistance from the members of the community." They add that in their opinion it cannot reasonably be expected that good administration can well be procured by such a system. The Boards are a survival of a principle which controls the constitutional, municipal, commercial

and industrial policy of Great Britain in every branch of activity. It is simply the principle that those who are responsible for the consequences of an enterprise in which they are profoundly interested should have a voice in its administration. It has been, since the secession of the North American colonies, the inspiring genius of our colonial policy, and has found its concentrated expression in the formula, 'If you want our aid, call us to your Councils.' It lies at the root of the system of reform at this moment being introduced in our Indian Empire. The policy advocated by the Commission is based on a negation of this principle, and may be summed up in the formula, 'We want none of your aid, and will have none of you in our Councils.' Logically enough, the Commission having advised the exclusion of the colonial community from the Executive Council, demand the exclusion of the community from a voice in the conduct of the administrative departments. Accordingly they recommend the immediate abolition of the more important Boards, notably, the Board of Health and the Quarantine Committee, naturally enough in view of their declared opinions on matters affecting the life and health of the people.

In view of a policy thus distinctly indicated, it may be perfectly consistent to destroy a system of education of which the express purpose was to support a diametrically opposite policy, and it seems to explain the unwillingness of the Commission to discuss Sir Penrose Julyan's report on the ground that "a lot of water had run under the bridges since then."

I will only add a word on the subject of the proposal to raise additional revenue by taxation. At the outset of their report, they refer to a despatch of Mr. Secretary Lyttelton of September 10th, 1904, recommending the Governor to "consider the question of imposing tax as was proposed and pressed upon Sir C. Bruce by Mr. Chamberlain in 1898."

What really happened was this. Soon after I had

assumed the government, I placed myself in communication with the Government of India, and obtained a copy of the Income Tax Act, No. 2 of 1886, which applies to the whole of British India, and had an Ordinance drafted on the lines of that Act. This I submitted to Mr. Chamberlain on June 29th, 1898, adding "if it is found impossible to avoid having recourse to a new source of revenue, I believe the measure to be the best that could be proposed." In my despatch I called attention to the perilous position of the colony in the following terms :

"I should be derelict from my duty were I not to repeat as I have informed you by telegraphic despatch that the Colony is in a most painful position. Every class of the community is reducing its expenditure to the strictest limits and in consequence great numbers of people are out of employment and in a state of utter destitution. The prisons are crowded beyond all record and largely with men arrested for vagrancy ; that is, for having no visible means of existence or for violations of the law, the result, it can hardly be doubted, of the pressure of the direst want. On this subject I am addressing you in a separate despatch. It has to be borne in mind that in this Colony there is absolutely no source of wealth unconnected with the interests of the sugar industry, and that consequently there is no class of the community whose ability to bear taxation is not reduced by the prostration of that industry. In other countries the burden of taxation can be shifted from the agricultural interest, or at least largely shared by the possessors of accumulated fortunes, by those who are enriching themselves by commerce, banking, by what I may be allowed to describe as scientific enterprises, mining, engineering, and generally the application of science and chemistry to the practical uses of life. None of these classes exist in Mauritius and, if we except the members of the Civil Service, there is in fact scarcely an individual in the Colony whose ability to bear additional taxation is not at the present moment paralysed by the prostration of the sugar interest. I am of opinion there-

fore that before new sources of taxation are resorted to the circumstances of the Colony are such as to justify the most drastic measures of retrenchment."

Mr. Chamberlain approved the draft with some amendments and pressed on me the necessity of proceeding with it. In his usual generous terms he recognised the efforts that were being made, at the close of the despatch referred to by the Commission, dated September 23rd :

"I have now dealt with the main points in your despatches under review and it only remains for me to express my appreciation of the efforts which you and your advisers are making to reduce expenditure and to increase revenue and my earnest hope that, with the loyal support of the Council of Government on which I am assured you can safely rely, these efforts may meet with success."

If I did not proceed with the income tax, it was for two reasons. First, that during the remainder of my tenure of office, it was found possible to balance revenue and expenditure without it, and secondly, for the reasons assigned in my chapter on the Fiscal System of the Crown colonies,—a chapter which was printed before the publication of the report of the Commission.

There are other matters in the report with which I would gladly deal, but I prefer to confine myself to the bearing of the report on the accepted and declared policy of British administration in the Crown colonies.

On the 10th of October of this year will be commemorated the centenary of the occupation of Mauritius by the British. The century has witnessed the steady growth of a policy having for its end the discipline of the community in the virtues that constitute a capacity for self-government, within limits consistent with the security of the liberty of every element of a heterogeneous community in various stages of civilisation. The policy was declared to be the colonial policy of the Empire in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria to the people of Natal in 1842, declaring that there shall not in the eye of the law be any

distinction of persons founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language or creed. In 1858 the policy was extended to India by the Proclamation of Her Majesty to the princes and peoples of that great dependency. The limit of the policy in Mauritius as in the Crown colonies generally, in so far as concerns the admission of members of the community to the higher offices of administrative responsibility, has never been fixed, but has gradually been advanced, with the reservation I have stated above, on the lines laid down by John Stuart Mill in respect of India: "If any door to the higher appointments, without passing through the lower, be opened even for occasional use, there will be such incessant knocking at it by persons of influence that it will be impossible ever to keep it closed. The only exceptional appointment should be the highest one of all." Proof of this is to be found in the fact that the next highest office to that of Governor, that of Chief Judge, has for many years been held by a Mauritian.

As has been shown in my work, the principal instrument of this policy has been found in an educational system, so organised as to enlist the sympathy and aid of free enterprise in support of an administration into every department of which it was designed that education should open a door of ingress.

The Commission now advise that, as an appropriate method of commemorating the centenary of British rule, the policy of a hundred years should be abandoned in favour of a policy which is its direct negation. The Mauritian community are to be excluded from the highest appointments of trust and responsibility; the educational system constructed to train them to a capacity to hold such appointments is to be destroyed. The declared opinion of the Chairman is in favour of withdrawing support from the religious agencies which have been the auxiliaries of education. The Boards, constructed in the spirit of the municipal institutions of the United Kingdom, and which served as schools of training in the arts of administration, are to be abolished. The policy of later years, which has recognised

the health of the people as the foundation of a capable community, and has made it a matter of the first concern to reduce the death-rate and to engage the public opinion of the community as an ally and auxiliary of government in the exercise of the policy, is to be succeeded by a policy the avowed purpose of which is to override the public sentiment.

A study of the report and evidence make it clear that the principal recommendations of the Commission are in favour of restoring methods of administration which have been tried and deliberately abandoned because they have failed. Certainly not the least extraordinary among these is the recommendation that in a community from whose memory the methods of slavery have not yet faded away—in a community penetrated with a sense of gratitude for redemption from those methods—the use of corporal punishment is to be restored as a cheap and drastic agent and instrument of the new policy.

It may be suggested that I should have communicated my views on the report to the Colonial Office. It was my wish to do so. As soon as I had studied it, I asked the Secretary of State to give me an opportunity to reply to some parts of the evidence which directly concerned myself, and to allow me to consult such official documents at the Colonial Office as I might desire to refer to. The reply of the Secretary of State was that he could not find in the report anything of the nature of a personal attack on myself, and that he did not think it necessary to trouble me by calling on me for a defence of my policy.

I conclude the long labour of my present work by the expression of a hope, that the government may pause before commemorating the centenary of British rule in the Crown Colony of Mauritius by the adoption of the policy recommended by the Commission.

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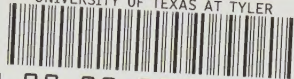
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